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INTRODUCTION TO MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS

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AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BY PHILIP ARCHIBALD PARSONS, PH. D.

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the University of Oregon*



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PREFACE

Though still young, the present century has witnessed the development of a new science, if science it may be called,—namely, Applied Sociology or the Science of Social Service. To be sure, many persons were doing prior to 1900 what has since come to be called social work; but appreciation of the magnitude of the social problem, the patient study and diagnosis of its many phases, the development of a standardized method of work, and the growth in numbers of a group of thinkers and workers with a distinct professional consciousness are, in the main, occurrences of the last twenty years. As a result of these developments, the matter of training for social service has attracted nation-wide attention. Having come to a general agreement that trained social workers are a necessity, students of the many phases of social need are now grappling with the problem of what constitutes adequate training. We are so near the pioneer days that many still believe that the only requisites for successful social work are a strong personality and an ample fund of common sense. However, few deny that the possessors of these excellent qualities can be made immensely more useful to society if equipped with knowledge of the nature of social problems and of the experience of other workers which has accumulated through the years.

With the technique of social work this volume is not concerned. As a student and teacher of Applied Sociology with a limited experience in the field of social service, the writer has long entertained the growing conviction that there is a certain fund of knowledge regarding the nature and causes of social problems which ought to be a part of

the equipment of every person who attempts to deal with them either as a paid social worker or as a volunteer. The material presented in the following chapters has accumulated slowly through a dozen years of classroom effort to provide for students an elementary or introductory course in the nature and causes of social problems. The course in which the outline of this work was gradually developed has always been looked upon as a background course, preparatory to a more intensive study of the various phases of Applied Sociology.

It has become apparent in recent years that social service is but a later development of society's effort to deal with its problems,—an effort which has constantly been adapting itself to changing appreciation of needs. Growing knowledge is tending to identify social service more and more with the older efforts of a political and economic character, making possible a visualization of the problem as a whole and a concerted attack upon it.

This book is designed for use as a text for college classes. It is hoped that it may be used widely by all persons whose occupations and interests bring them in contact with any of the many forms in which the social problem manifests itself. It is essentially an introduction as it does not deal with methods of procedure or with the measure of success or failure of various philanthropic enterprises.

For a number of years the writer has contemplated the preparation of a somewhat ambitious work of four volumes which should set forth in considerable detail an analytical study of the social problem and the nature of the resources upon which our civilization can and must draw if it is to cope successfully with the conditions which threaten its destruction. The present work should have appeared as volume three of that series, but, as is so often the case with such programs, fate has decreed that it should be the first to make its appearance.

The writer makes little claim to originality. Readers

will recognize many old and familiar ideas consorting with some strange new ones. These have been accumulated over a long period of time and under so many different circumstances that the sources of many of them have been forgotten. An effort has been made to give credit for ideas wherever possible. Should the reader come upon flagrant omissions to give credit where it is due, he is requested to attribute them to a faulty memory rather than to any desire on the part of the writer to appropriate the ideas of others.

An effort has been made to accomplish two things in the use of marginal references: first, to cite authorities in defence of opinions and positions and acknowledge sources of ideas and, second, to introduce the reader, from time to time, to fuller treatment of certain topics in other works. In the first instance, references are usually made to pages or chapters; in the second, reference is generally to an entire work. At the end of each chapter a bibliography is appended for general reading with certain volumes starred for assigned readings in connection with classroom use.

If an effort were made to thank all who have helped with the preparation of this book, the names would make a list too long for a preface. Most of all, the writer is indebted for encouragement and assistance to Professor Harry Elmer Barnes of Smith College who as student, colleague and long time friend, constantly stimulated him to renewed efforts whenever the press of academic and administrative duties threatened to put an end to the enterprise. He has rendered invaluable service in discussion and criticism of the manuscript and assisted greatly in the preparation of the bibliographies and, finally, he has assisted with the reading of the proofs.

The writer is also greatly indebted to Professor Robert C. Dexter of Skidmore College who read the manuscript critically and made many suggestions which have been of great value. The reader will be interested to learn that Professor Dexter is preparing a volume supplementary to

this work which will provide much illustrative material and survey the progress of recent remedial efforts.

Thanks are due, also, to Dean Earl Kilpatrick of the Extension Division of the University of Oregon and to Miss Elnora Thomson, formerly Director of the Course in Public Health Nursing and associated with the writer as Director of the Portland School of Social Work, who read much of the manuscript and offered many helpful criticisms and suggestions. Nor is the writer unmindful of the many students who, through the years, sat more or less patiently while their ears were assaulted with wordy discussions, from many angles, of the ideas set forth herein. Their service was none the less meritorious because they were compelled to listen.

In keeping with the fashion of so many authors, the writer acknowledges great obligation to his wife, who patiently endured the reading of the manuscript aloud and assisted with the reading and correction of the proofs.

PHILIP A. PARSONS.

Portland, Oregon,

September, 1924.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO
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PROBLEMS

I

CIVILIZATION IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

AMONG careful students of Western Civilization there is a growing apprehension of impending disaster. Wells, Wallas, Ferrero, Figgis, Stoddard, Rauschenbusch and Ellwood are only a few of the names of those who, from one angle or another, have sought to acquaint the public with the nature of the social crisis.¹ While such terms as "the crisis" and "the social problem" are coming to be used glibly by a multitude of persons superficially interested in social conditions, there is but a very vague notion in the popular mind as to the exact nature of the danger in the path of modern culture.

Under the circumstances, it is natural for us to ask ourselves what is the matter with civilization. There are many reasons why we should make inquiry into the causes for so much apprehension. First, we wish to know if civilization really is in a bad way. If we discover that something is vitally wrong, it is again quite natural for us to ask how critical our situation may be. Withal there is the characteristically human desire to know if there is anything we can do about it.

Obviously we cannot proceed to do anything intelligently

¹ H. G. Wells, *The Salvaging of Civilization*. G. Wallas, *The Great Society*. G. Ferrero, *Ancient Rome and Modern America*. J. N. Figgis, *Civilization at the Cross Roads*. L. Stoddard, *The Revolt Against Civilization*. W. Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. C. A. Ellwood, *The Social Problem*.

The term *Western Civilization* is applied to that culture which developed in Western Europe and has spread with European migrations as distinguished from present Oriental Civilizations, Historic Civilizations and what Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser calls Early Civilizations among existing primitive peoples.

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until the nature of the problem is understood. Careful diagnosis, therefore, is the first necessity. While we may not hope to clear up the problem, we may, perchance, render it less obscure by approaching it from a new angle.

In the face of danger, human beings have ever sought to make their reaction to an immediate situation more reassuring by drawing upon the storehouse of past experience. This practice has enabled peoples to fortify themselves against familiar menaces. The element of "crisis" appears when new situations arise in which familiar reactions are ineffectual. The present dangers of civilization may not be entirely new to the race but their previous occurrences have appeared so far in the past and at such widely separated intervals as to have left no experience-memories of value to the present generation.

It is, therefore, but logical that we should make inquiries of history and ascertain, if possible, where and under what conditions hazards similar to our own have occurred, from what causes they arose, and what their consequences were. In the present instance, such inquiries bring most enlightening results.

ADVANTAGES OF THE HISTORIC VIEWPOINT

History, anthropology and archæology have thrown a flood of light upon the past of the human race. Even limited knowledge of our own civilization and the one immediately preceding it led us, long ago, to adopt as a truism the statement that history repeats itself. Even if this statement requires considerable modification, it remains true that, as Patrick Henry said, the only way to judge of the future is by the past. The fact becomes more clearly revealed as our knowledge of these cultures increases and research opens the pages of history of the more remote civilizations. Not only does history repeat itself in the events which attract sufficient attention to be preserved in tradition and chron-

icle; we now know that some steps in the process of social evolution recur with many similarities in each succeeding culture.²

We do not know how many peoples have passed from savagery to a high degree of culture. Some may have done so without leaving a trace. Others have left only slight evidences of their existence. We are fortunate, however, in having an abundant and ever increasing fund of information concerning three great civilizations which preceded our own. Until the outbreak of the great war, research and excavation were almost daily putting us in possession of intimate knowledge of that great system of culture which has been called Babylonian. The tombs, temples and hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt have yielded up their story. The great civilizations of Greece and Rome left such a wealth of intellectual and physical evidence behind them that they are almost as familiar to us as our own, even to minute details.³ The labors of historians are making us more familiar with our own past than any previous people has ever been.

From the evidence in hand it appears that the great cultures have gone through a similar process, the steps or stages of which we may differentiate with relative clearness. It is true that these are not isolated stages, for they merge into one another in a manner to make the process unnoticeable to the people of any given period until they are seen in retrospect.

STEPS IN THE PROCESS OF CIVILIZATION

Historic civilizations have frequently passed through four stages which we may call the period of Barbaric Founda-

² See F. H. Giddings, "A Theory of History," in *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1920; and H. E. Barnes, "History and Social Intelligence" in *Journal of Social Forces*, January, 1924.

³ See for instance A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*; and S. Dill, *Roman Society*, two volumes. Note, however, W. L. Westermann, "Sources and Methods of Research in Economic History," *Pol. Sci. Quart.*, March, 1922.

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tions, the Civilizing Process, the period of Flower and Decay and a concluding period of Collapse or Disintegration.⁴ This fourfold division is arbitrary and open to merited criticism. Yet, certain easily recognizable phenomena are characteristic of each of these stages, which we shall discuss with as much brevity as is compatible with clearness.

Savagery is a familiar term, but in reality we know very little about it. The stage of human culture commonly spoken of as savage is properly called barbaric. Barbarism, that early stage of human society beginning with the crudest forms of social organization and extending to the beginnings of civilization, is fraught with vast importance because it is in this period that the physical and psychic foundations are laid for civilization. For civilization does not come into the world full-flowered as our mythologies would have us believe, but grows by a slow and laborious process from seed planted in fertile savage soil.

Barbarism is this process of growth, coming between the seed-time of savagery and the full flower of civilization. The term "barbarous" has suffered by popular use as the antithesis of the term "civilized." The barbarian is not cruel, rapacious, relentless and thoroughly irresponsible. On the contrary, he is generally peaceable among his fellows, highly moral (in the strict meaning of that term,—that is, conforming to the mores), and exceedingly religious.⁵

Among early barbarians the struggle for existence was exceedingly keen. The moral bonds which held kindred groups together were scrupulously observed and it was only to the stranger or the enemy, practically synonymous terms, that the barbarian manifested those qualities which are associated with him in the popular mind. His existence was precarious and the struggle with his environment and his enemies necessitated the development of his fierce, warlike

⁴ Cf. O. Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*.

⁵ On this point see A. R. Wallace's enlightening volume, *Social Evolution and Moral Progress*, especially chap. VI. Also consult E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, chap. VI.

qualities, making him a hunter and a fighter and leaving so-called domestic labors, such as the preparation of food, the manufacture of utensils and clothing and the care of the young, to his women. To use the language of an observer of the social customs of barbaric peoples, "the men fight and sit about, the women do the work." This, however, is not true of all primitive peoples. Notable diversions from the customary division of labor between the sexes occur.⁶

RELATION OF BARBARISM TO CIVILIZATION

During this period of barbaric simplicity, characteristics are developed which determine man's destiny for centuries. There is an element of conjecture here, because the barbarians whom we are able to study are held in check by unfavorable environmental conditions, or they have suffered in contact with civilized peoples, or sometimes both. In either case we do not have perfect examples of primitive barbarism. Peoples depressed by climatic conditions are apt to be decadent; and where barbarism and civilization are thrown together, the veneer of civilization imposed upon barbarism is disastrous both to the civilization and to barbarism. In most instances, where barbarism is not highly developed it has a tendency to decay in the presence of civilization.

Sociologists tell us that the physical environment in which the early civilizations had their origin was characterized by an abundant food supply, fertile soil, and relative freedom from strong enemies or dangerous animals.⁷ If this were not so, so much energy would be used up in making a living and in self defense that the group would remain static, increasing neither in numbers nor intelligence. With such an environment, however, excess energy expended itself in a rapid increase in numbers and in the evolution of higher stages of culture, accompanied by improvements in

⁶ H. L. Roth, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. XXII, pp. 204-243.

⁷ F. H. Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology*, p. 210.

the arts of war and in procuring food. This in turn reacted in greater superiority over surrounding groups. With the domestication of animals and later with the tilling of the soil, hunting gave way to husbandry.

While the foregoing process is going on, man gradually equips himself with three things which are to carry him to higher stages of culture,—first, a strong, magnificent body; second, a crude but wholesome system of morals; third, a simple but socializing and vigorous religious belief.

It is not without reason that artists and sculptors have chosen as the model of masculine perfection, the Indian. The Greek concept of divinity is the perfect human body, unspoiled by the effeminating influence of civilization. The vigorous body of the Barbarian on his way to civilization, is the result of the rigors of the age-old selective process among his animal ancestors. The struggle for existence has eliminated the weak and also the grotesque. The simple and wholesome food coupled with the manly exercise of primitive life, aided constantly by the weeding-out process of primitive warfare in which the weaker are continually eliminated, gradually builded for man a physical heritage which was to survive many generations of the physically degrading influence of the so-called “higher” civilization which was to follow.

It is doubtful if civilization has greatly improved upon the morals of barbarism. Such a statement may come as a surprise to the person unacquainted with the life of primitive peoples. While the greatest diversity exists among barbaric peoples, in general, sexual regulations are rigidly maintained with the kinship group.⁸ Adultery and incest are customarily punished by death. Theft is frequently punished by the infliction of bodily pain, and restitution is almost always required. In many tribes, murder is punishable by death and the offender's clan is held responsible for his punishment; if he is not punished by his clan, he must

⁸ In this connection see W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*.

be surrendered to the clan of the murdered man for punishment; failure on the part of the offender's clan to bring him to justice or surrender him results in inter-clan warfare. The morals of barbarians are crude and simple but highly social and conducive to physical fitness.⁹

Even in the exceedingly complicated systems of civilization, the basic law has its foundations in barbaric custom. The masses of the people never escape from it. Only the crafty and powerful few violate it with impunity. So deeply is conformity to custom ingrained in human nature that at any given time the mass of the people are not restrained from lawlessness by the fear of punishment as much as by antipathy to doing the forbidden thing. Fear of the ingrained but socially produced sense of guilt is more powerful in restraining the impulses of men than fear of the physical consequences of actions contrary to custom.

In addition to strong bodies and effective moral codes, barbarism equipped man with certain crude religious concepts. The religion of early barbarism deeply implants the religious habit which in later barbarism develops into the tribal religions which bring a powerful supernatural sanction to the support of group morality.¹⁰ Fear of offending the god is a sanction of later tribal law. In the patriarchal period which often comes as the result of the domestication of animals and the acquisition of property, the earlier forms of religion are modified by the introduction of ancestor worship which in time brought around the hearth fire the sentiments which inhere in our traditional concept of home. The natural affection between parents and offspring is supplemented at this period by a religious devotion. Together these developed into those finer sentiments which we call humane. To be sure, we must not inject all of the modern content of that word into barbarism; but the concept was strikingly approximated in the patriarchal family group,

⁹ M. Parmelee, *Criminology*, p. 19.

¹⁰ J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, 2nd Edition, p. 154.

and, in our own case, it brought to the threshold of civilization those ideas and sentiments which, under the refining influence of Christianity, have given us the concept embodied in the terms—human, humane and humanity. If the tribal religion develops to the point of identifying religion and ethics,—a thing not always accomplished,—the religious backing of the ideas of right and wrong makes them of tremendous social force.

It is upon these barbaric foundations, then, that the more conspicuous structure of civilization is reared. On account of the firm foundation it is destined to withstand many shocks and storms from without and within. We are now interested in following the steps or stages by which civilization is reared upon this solid base.

MIGRATION, CONQUEST, AND AMALGAMATION OF STOCKS

The Civilizing Process is so gradual that it is difficult to mark a point at which we may say it has its beginnings.¹¹ Here we shall have to resort to more or less arbitrary distinction. Roughly speaking, civil society begins at the point where the old ethnic grouping is supplanted by the so-called civil state. Various forms of culture associated with civilization appear earlier than this. For our purposes we may profitably place the beginning of the civilizing process where the barbarians start upon their career of migration and conquest. Sociologists tell us that few great civilizations develop upon the ground where they have had their origin.¹² Again and again, history shows us the superimposition of a wandering people upon a weaker or less warlike folk at the beginnings of a great culture. Briefly, the process is explained as follows:

Nomadic peoples who follow their flocks through rela-

¹¹ The reader will note that the term *civilization* is here used in a sense quite distinct from *culture*.

¹² See this theory worked out in L. Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf*; A. R. Cowan, *Master-Clues in World History*; and A. C. Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*.

tively fertile regions and are able to multiply rapidly, eventually outgrow their territory and set out in search of new pastures. Barbarians who have outgrown their hunting and fishing grounds cast about looking for a more favorable habitation. In either case these migrating folk come upon a fertile region in which some other group has begun the patient labor of tilling the soil. Whether the inhabitants of the coveted territory are overpowered by numbers, or having become accustomed to the arts of peace, are no match for the hardy barbarous invaders, they are conquered and reduced to the status of a subject people. This process is familiar in the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrew tribes, in the irruption of the Teutonic tribes into Gaul, and in the Teutonic conquests of England. Traditions of the conquering peoples usually picture them as utterly destroying the conquered folk, but this is not true to fact. What happens, is the imposition of the conquering people upon the conquered as a ruling upon a subject class. The conquerors take possession of the land, property and even the persons of their victims and settle down to a period of exploitation.¹³ In the course of time, through intermarriage, the two peoples become merged into one nationality. Privileges of citizenship are won gradually by the subject class, and the process of amalgamation is hastened if the group is threatened from without by formidable enemies. Frequently the conquerors and the conquered are of the same racial stock. This mingling of not too remotely related stocks has proved to be beneficial. As the folk increases in number and intelligence, the benefits of their industry are fairly well distributed and civilization goes on apace. New devices for mastering the environment are discovered, and trade and commerce spring up. The physical vigor of the conquering barbarians is infused into the whole people. The barbaric religion develops into a more elaborate cult, with popular devotion expressing itself in shrines, altars, temples, feasts,

¹³ See F. Oppenheimer, *The State*.

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and religious institutions which are assiduously elaborated by a priestly class. Religion and culture put a premium on art. Sculpture and architecture come in response to the developing ideas of beauty, and literature and the cultivation of knowledge follow the development of the creative imagination and the observing vision.

MASTERING ENVIRONMENT AND SECURING SAFETY

While this process is going on, civil society expands its primitive social machinery and develops new devices to fit its growing needs. Elaborate machinery of government and legislation supercede the primitive council and control by tribal custom. Simple tribal methods of settling disputes and punishing offenders develop into the intricate machinery of justice and penology. Primitive manufacture of utensils, clothing and shelter become standardized arts and crafts, and specialization of industry and contacts with neighboring peoples induce trade and commerce involving business ethics, money, transportation and exchange. Primitive religious rites and social activities center about events of national importance, and together with the growing importance of religious and political personages furnish occasions for feasts, festivals, pomp and ceremony. The origins of our religious, economic, political, and æsthetic traditions are easily traced back to their barbaric prototypes.

THE ENTERING WEDGE OF DECAY

It is difficult to indicate the point at which the third stage in the evolution of civilization begins. Sooner or later in the process of development certain factors enter which may work for the undermining of the entire social structure. In the early stages of their development, these destroying factors may hasten the growth of those things which indicate a high degree of culture. The time comes however, when wealth begins to accumulate in the

hands of special groups or classes. With economic independence come luxury and the opportunity to make idleness attractive; manual labor becomes first distasteful and then ignoble, and an economic group less fortunately situated is at hand to perform menial tasks. Commerce, justice, legislation and the arts fall under the control of the dominant class, and the demands for more wealth increase as the habits of luxury develop new and expensive tastes. At first no demoralizing influences of this process are noticeable. Burdens of taxation have to be adjusted slowly to the backs of the people who do not at first realize that the objects which originally justified the taxation have ceased to exist. Besides, there is another and a fertile source of income which seems to bring national prosperity, and for a season it lulls the populace into forgetfulness of its wrongs. That source is the systematic plundering of surrounding peoples. Pretext for wars of aggression is not wanting, and legions are easily recruited for the purpose of avenging fancied wrongs, furthering national ambition, and achieving fancied national destiny. The German assumption of superiority of culture, as an excuse for expansion, is nothing new in history. Practically all civilizations have thought the same thing and fought for the same thing at some time in their careers. So, on one pretext or another, the civilized state plunders its neighbors, and the result is a distribution of the immediate spoils of conquest in a manner to blind the eyes of the populace to the fact that the abiding fruits of the system of vassalage go to the ruling class. While the warriors gloat over trophies, the ruling classes wax fat with tribute.

History has demonstrated that the above process may continue for a long period of time. Gradually, however, the burden of taxation upon the people of the ruling state increases as the rulers become further removed from the common people. Finally there comes a time when the national vitality is so enfeebled that the fighting quality of the

men is destroyed. This difficulty may be overcome temporarily by the use of mercenary troops recruited from subject peoples, and by the colonization of the national domains with robust peoples from the boundaries of the empire. Sooner or later, however, the limits of this process are reached, and, the central state being no longer able to maintain its power, the whole structure falls to pieces; and the flood of barbarians which the mercenary armies have held back with increasing difficulty, overturns the government through armed or unresisted invasion.

The decay of civilization is already far advanced before this process becomes conspicuous. When civilization is thus disintegrating, the indications of its success and its permanence are much more prominent than the evidences of its decline. Magnificent buildings, monuments, temples, statuary and the glittering display of wealth are conspicuous. An atmosphere of culture and learning is created by artists and scholars; talent is given leisure to develop itself, and a high premium of glory and financial affluence attract the ambitious from remote districts to the seats of wealth and splendor. Outwardly, such a civilization is magnificent.

The reverse of the picture is less attractive. The economic conditions induced by this situation eventually and gradually bring the free wealth and the wealth-producing resources, whether land, animals or machinery, into the hands of a relatively small class, and the remainder of the population is reduced to some form of servitude,—serfdom, tenantry, or wage labor. This process too is so gradual as to be scarcely noticed. As long as the laboring portion of the population gets an adequate living from the process, and the holders of wealth and privilege use their wealth and power sanely, no disastrous results follow. Such, however, is not likely to be the condition for any great length of time. Habits of idleness and luxury tend to beget new demands for money, and unless inventive genius opens new

sources of wealth, greater income for the ruling class can be secured only at the expense of the laborers.

In due time the foregoing process of squeezing the populace for more revenue begins to show itself in reduced efficiency of the people due to lowered standards of living and more arduous toil. Pauperization of the population lowers vitality and lessens energy. As productive efficiency grows less, the demands from above necessarily become more oppressive.

Mental and moral health, generally speaking, depend upon physical health. As the hope for justice and better conditions in this life fades, religion becomes other-worldly and the energy created by faith wastes itself in fanatical and non-social ways. Religious institutions, as Veblen has indicated, fall into the hands of the favored class and lie upon society as an additional depressing weight.

The process by which the disintegration of the upper classes is accomplished is more subtle, perhaps, and harder to analyze. The absence of hunger, exhaustive labor, and sordid living conditions leaves the process of physical degeneration to be accomplished by other agencies. These, however, are not wanting. Separation of the rich from the poor breaks down common sympathy. Class consciousness is nothing new in society; but the old idea that the conquerors and the conquered are made of different stuff now applies to the rich and the poor. Are not the rich and the rulers favored of the gods, and do they not hold their position and power by divine right? With this concept comes the idea that what they take is their own, and that they are to be applauded for leaving the people anything. Almsgiving becomes an indication of great goodness of character as it is practiced without compulsion. This is not hypocrisy; it is the contaminating influence of materialistic ideals upon human character. Standards of right and justice are not immune to the corrosive qualities of materialism. Presently the warping influence of self-interest makes itself

felt upon personal morality. Indulgence comes by slow stages and continues until many of the old safeguards are swept away.

Religious belief is not laid off as one lays off a garment. Before wealth gets to the point of stifling religion at its source, it takes it up and makes it its own. The service is beautified, retainers multiply, and art is invoked to enrich it. Organized religion becomes an asset of wealth and one of its chief adornments. With the advance of culture, however, the time comes when the crude concepts of primitive religion become unsatisfactory. Theological manipulation of terms may satisfy for a time; but sooner or later, to the intellectual class, faith becomes impossible. The religious habit survives, nevertheless, and leads many to the patronage of strange cults and mystic practices. Secret societies of a religious character multiply and spread their ramifications everywhere. Religious chaos is the result.¹⁴ Scepticism becomes popular among the rich. Among the poor, religious faith and practice revert to primitive forms, and magic feeds once more upon the hopes and fears of the ignorant and superstitious. Religion as a vitalizing force is almost if not entirely dead.

Where ideals and traditions have found expression in abiding materials, they survive until discovered and deciphered for the appreciation of later cultures. A considerable heritage is passed on, also, through absorption by invading barbarians. Great cultural concepts may be preserved to benefit later ages where the life spans of major civilizations overlap each other. The stone and papyri of the Nile valley preserved a better record than the sun dried

¹⁴ For Egypt, see G. Steindorf, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, chap. II, pp. 69-73. For a more extended presentation see Breasted, *History of Egypt*, chap. XXV. For Greece and Rome see F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans*; T. W. Glover, *Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire*, chap. I; and W. W. Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*.

bricks of Mesopotamia. We are still more fortunate in the marble and parchment records of Greece and Rome.

Civilization, like the nautilus, leaves a beautiful shell behind it. Its beauty is not appreciated by the barbarian invaders more than is the shell of the nautilus by the hermit crab which occupies its outer chamber. Such materials as are useful to satisfy crude tastes are appropriated, and the remainder left to fall into decay when pillage and the torch have completed their work.

Some students of history have called attention to the fact that our civilization is following the same course traversed by preceding ones. We had our barbaric foundations and also the migrating process in which different strains were crossed, to produce not only a good physical foundation but an excellent intellectual foundation as well. We have been spared the enervating influence of tropical climate; and the wide spread of our population over the surface of the earth has rendered us relatively safe from barbarians from without. We are learning to our sorrow that the too sudden incorporation of barbarians into our civilization does not instantly transform their natural characteristics.

FOUNDATIONS OF OUR CIVILIZATION THREATENED

Propitious as were the prospects of our civilization on account of its physical and cultural inheritance, it has not escaped the dangers which have destroyed every preceding one. The processes of decay have been interrupted repeatedly by the escape of sorely pressed populations through migration to new and unappropriated lands. New means of transforming natural resources into wealth have constantly served to bring redistribution of goods, so that the lines separating wealth-holders from wage-earners have been repeatedly broken down or altered. The process of decay is steadily going on, however, and has accomplished its ends to an alarming extent. We are witnessing to-day in many

countries in Europe the extinction of the saving "middle class"—the class which has enabled our civilization to progress to its present high state. This class has been the repository of the moral and physical soundness of our social fabric. From it we have drawn our genius, our inspiration and our leadership. If this is destroyed, we shall be in perilous straits indeed.

The submerging of the middle class of our population, however, is not the only indication of impending dissolution of our civilization. On every hand are unmistakable signs of degeneration of the physical basis of our culture. Exact knowledge of the increase of the various forms of degeneracy is met with something alarmingly like indifference. To the legislature and the electorate, the financial burden of an immediate treatment of the problem outweighs the ultimate disintegration of the social fabric.

Statisticians of divorce tell us that the family is going to pieces. If this were confined to the irresponsible rich it would not be so alarming; but it is spread uniformly through all classes. Divorce is not the most serious indication of the loosening hold of monogamous custom upon the people. Family desertion and non-support are still more serious and as widespread as divorce. Childless and delayed marriages as well as increasing celibacy indicate a changed attitude toward sex. Increasing disregard for law is shown in unscrupulous business methods as well as in overt acts of lawlessness.¹⁵ Indifference to political corruption indicates an unwillingness on the part of the people to assume responsibility for government.¹⁶

Everyone will agree that a profound change is taking place in the attitude toward traditional religious beliefs. For the time being, this change is manifesting itself in va-

¹⁵ T. Veblen, *Theory of Business Enterprise*, chaps. I, II, IX; also his *Theory of the Leisure Class*; and *Engineers and the Price System*, chap. I.

¹⁶ R. C. Brooks, *Corruption in American Politics and Life*.

rious ways. Scepticism has long been conspicuous in institutions of learning. Serious dissatisfaction and deep concern are felt among large groups of truly pious persons. Indifference is manifested everywhere. Open hostility to religion is shown by those beginning to feel the burden of economic oppression. Of great significance is the multiplication of fanatical sects and the reappearance of oriental cults couched in terms of science, thought, wisdom, healing and spiritualism. Quacks, fortune tellers and magicians revive the practices of primitive medicinemen. If we were to judge by the number of sects and *isms* making a bid for attention in America, we would conclude that religious belief approaches the demoralization in Rome preceding the fall.¹⁷

Class consciousness is already developed to a dangerous point. Careful students of history who could scarcely be called alarmists assert that our civilization is at the parting of the ways.¹⁸ Either we must find some means of counteracting the destructive influences which are at work, or we must suffer the fate of preceding civilizations. Some observers are candidly pessimistic about the future. Others take solace in the belief that each civilization mounts higher than the last, and that we should reconcile ourselves to having made our contribution in the way of progress and achievement before we are overwhelmed.

The mind of the western world has difficulty in adjusting itself to pessimism. The vigorous spirit which has enabled us to outstrip our predecessors is one of progress and creation. Unfortunately, mental readjustments cannot cure the ills which are destroying the social body. The corruption must be cut out and the contamination removed. Unless we can understand and counteract the forces which are

¹⁷ F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*; also, T. Glover, *Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire*.

¹⁸ For a recent expression of pessimism from the standpoint of a philosopher, see H. B. Alexander, *Nature and Human Nature*, chap. XV; and R. Shafer, *Progress and Science*. For a brief list of similar writings see footnote at the beginning of this chapter.

destroying the foundations of our civilization, it will go the way of all others.

As far as we can tell, human nature has remained practically the same during our entire acquaintance with it. It would be difficult to demonstrate that we are any better in the sense of being more obedient to our ideas of right and wrong than other men in other ages have been. History reveals the same noble aspirations and lofty sentiments in all peoples who have left traces of their thoughts in writing or in the architecture of devotion. Man has always tried to be true to his ideals. His devotion has not always been intelligent, but his motives have been praiseworthy. The fault has not been with man necessarily. *The menace to permanent human institutions has lain rather in the nature of things.* Our hope of solving the problem which man has never been able to solve lies in the discernment of that fact. In the selection of his reasons for being, man has been unconsciously biased by his self-interest. To him, those things have seemed beneficial which have satisfied the cravings of his body. Striving for material goods becomes disastrous after one has passed a certain point. That point is where material good seems to outweigh cultural good. It is not reached till there is a surplus and the question arises as to its ownership. If man's environment had never produced more than was necessary for the gratification of certain fundamental wants, a certain degree of culture might have endured to the end of time.

The reader will immediately detect what appears to be a fallacy in this reasoning. He will say, "In that case there never would have been any civilization." That is true. Nor would there have been any collapse. It is the surplus, the possibility of improvement in man's condition, which makes for civilization. In a word, that which produces civilization seems to destroy it. The question arises, then, can humanity survive civilization; or better, can a people become civilized and survive?

COUNTERACTING THE FORCES OF DECAY

The answer of history to the foregoing question is not encouraging. What reason have we to hope that we can solve a problem which no people has ever solved? Have we anything in our civilization which other peoples did not possess, upon which we can depend for our salvation? To find an answer for these questions, let us carry the analysis of our situation a little further.

The foundations of civilization are sound physical bodies, wholesome morals, and an ethical religion, the whole directed by intelligence. Civilization falls when these are undermined, and they are threatened with destruction in our civilization. Our problem, then, is to prevent the overthrow of these foundations. A brief survey of the means at hand for preventing disaster reveals the encouraging fact that we have a great advantage over preceding peoples who went to their fate without a chance to save themselves. If we permit our civilization to collapse, it will be because we neglect the means of prevention.

Choice involves knowledge as to alternatives. *We have the knowledge necessary to an intelligent decision.* The modern world has committed itself to education, and has brought about a dissemination of learning far beyond that of any preceding time. Furthermore, science has applied itself to the study of the problem confronting us and we are in a way to know what is the matter. Not only may we know what is the matter, but we may know, also, how to cure our social ills. We may know why we are degenerating; why the family is going to pieces; the reasons for the decay of institutions; for the growth of class consciousness and for social unrest generally. If we are given time we may apply remedies which are at hand with some hope of success.¹⁹

¹⁹ It is now conceded that the best medical science does not content itself with the curing of disease. It seeks means of preventing it. In like manner, scientific philanthropy is the answer of the modern world

The application of science to the correction of social ills is not, at first hand, a business proposition solely. The person who undertakes it for financial profit is seldom a successful social worker. Devotion to a purpose is as necessary here as it is in the ministry, in teaching, or in rearing children. And devotion is not bought with a price. It must be, somehow, generated from within. In other words, devotion is a matter of religion.

In the past, devotion has been guided mainly by the emotions. Even thus guided it has accomplished notable results. In the future, it will be more and more guided by the intelligence. Its past record may become insignificant when compared with its accomplishments when it equips itself with the instruments and findings of modern science.

We have learned in the recent war that our methods of checking up religious devotion have been inadequate. The menace of an impending collapse of civilization can be made plain to intelligent men and women. Volunteers for social service will not be and are not now wanting. They are constantly being recruited by persons qualified to train and inspire them. They stand ready to be trained to the highest point of efficiency. What is equally encouraging, here and there even now creators and possessors of great wealth are

to the ills of our time. It includes not only the attempt to cure the disease of social decay which is sapping our vitality, but also the effort to remove the causes and conditions conducive to it. Nothing could be farther from the truth than to assume that modern social service is only a newfangled way of administering charity. To be sure, the name has been applied to many and worse things. Almost every rattle-brained idea having to do with so-called human betterment in recent years has been called that; but it is not any or all of these. Modern social service includes every scientific effort to arrest social decay and remove its causes. Social science knows better than its critics that it is no solution of poverty to give away bread and clothing, any more than it is a prevention of immorality to arrest prostitutes, or of crime to punish criminals. Poverty, immorality, and crime will disappear largely with the conditions which make people poor, immoral, and criminal. The causes are known and, for the greater part, curable and preventable.

coming to recognize that wealth has social obligations. It seems not unreasonable to believe that the time may not be far distant when enlightened public opinion will restrain the purely individualistic use of great fortunes.

It is not difficult to believe that enlightened human beings, equipped with the instruments of modern science and inspired by a powerful social religion, shall be able to guide themselves safely through the shoals upon which all preceding civilizations have been shipwrecked.

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II

HISTORIC ELEMENTS IN THE MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEM

MATERIAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF CIVILIZATION NOT PERMANENT

To one occupied with the material achievements of this day and generation, the question as to the permanent elements in our civilization could have but one answer. The mastery of the environment by the transformation of resources into wealth; the partial elimination of time and space by our great railway systems, ocean and aërial navigation and oral communication; the restraining and diversion of mighty rivers for power, irrigation and navigation; the rearing of lofty buildings, the population of which rivals good-sized towns of a generation ago, are all calculated to impress one with the permanence and stability of our material achievement. But such are not the lasting achievements of civilization. It is doubtful if our age would leave structures to rival the pyramids or the Parthenon. It is not by utilizing material achievements that succeeding civilizations build on the ruins of their predecessors.

The perusal of the findings of anthropologists and paleontologists impresses us with a fact which has been generally overlooked hitherto. Our human and near human ancestors occupied portions of our globe for periods of time which make the historic era seem as a fleeting day compared with a century. During that entire epoch, these creatures left scarcely any material evidence of their existence other than

their stone implements, a few works of art and fewer fragments of their bones.¹

During the historic period, the permanent element in civilization, passed on from one culture to the next, has been—not only material—but spiritual achievements. Civilizations in passing did not bequeath merely their physical equipment, but also their dominant ideas and ideals to their successors. Around these, in turn, have developed a group of controlling concepts influenced by the prevailing racial bent and ensuing racial experience.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF SOCIAL INHERITANCE

Only recently have we become aware of the extent to which our behaviour is shaped around a few fundamental ideas. Still more recently has it been brought to our attention that these ideas in the main are not original with us but inherited from widely separate sources.² It is now obvious that ideals may and do converge from remote sources, and that they are subject to certain definite laws of survival which may be partly understood and analyzed.³

At any given time people will be found to conform in their actions and beliefs to a small number of controlling ideas which are, for the most part, taken for granted. A closer scrutiny will reveal certain adaptations in process growing out of the adjustment of inherited concepts to developing ones.

SOCIAL LIFE BASED ON IDEAS AND IDEALS

Dominant ideas and ideals are surprisingly few in number. In the last analysis, the channels of thought and action of the masses of the people are few and simple.

¹ H. F. Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, especially p. 41, and chap. II; and H. H. Wilder *Man's Pre-historic Past*.

² C. A. Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, chap. II; J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*.

³ F. S. Marvin, *The Living Past*, entire, but especially chaps. I-II.

Shades and variations are legion, and partial sophistication leads to seemingly endless complexities. In these, however, the average person soon finds himself beyond his depth, and after a brave effort to appear learned, he hastens to find refuge in his familiar shallows.

A brief statement concerning these fundamental concepts will best suit our purposes, as extended discussion would either lead over ground already familiar or to labyrinthine ramifications from which few emerge in agreement:

First, we conform more or less closely to modes of conduct commonly accepted as righteous.

Second, there is an approximation to an accepted standard of what is good in form or expression,—the beautiful.

Third, there is the much less definite but much used concept of truth, or knowledge.

Fourth, we have a hazy group of ideas regarding rights or privileges conserved by common consent in Law.

Fifth, a slightly more specialized concept regarding the organization and functioning of the social body in Government.

Sixth, growing out of the individual's experience in relation to his group, we have the distinct ideas of the range or limitation of personal activity as embodied in the terms "liberty" and "freedom."

Ellwood admirably points out a still further grouping of these ideas in practice which reduces their number to four, namely: Righteousness, Knowledge and Beauty, Law and Government and Liberty.⁴ A very limited discussion of these will suffice here.

Righteousness.

For most people, under ordinary circumstances, the law practically does not exist. Normal conduct conforms usually without a rationalizing process to certain standards

⁴ See Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, chap. II.

born of social usage.⁵ The observance of these standards is taken for granted and is considered right. The doing of the right thing is Righteous. To be sure, the discussion of right and wrong conduct eventually leads to the idea of choosing between lines of conduct, neither of which would be considered necessarily wrong; but the doing of one may be considered more meritorious than the doing of the other. This implies a considerable rationalization of conduct and is incident to an advance of culture from the rigid mores of primitive society. Thus an unrighteous man may refrain from the open violation of the law. On the other hand, this evolved concept of righteousness involves something more than the mere abstinence from wrong doing.

The majority of individuals "do the right thing" unconsciously, as a result of certain subtle social influences, regardless of any consideration for law in the strict use of that term. It is obvious, also, that the concept of right conduct is not worked out and adopted by each generation for itself, but has been handed down from one generation to the next from a remote past.

Beauty and Knowledge.

Appreciation of the beautiful was once considered a characteristic of a relatively high civilization exclusively. Comparatively recent ethnological studies have brought home to us the fact that among surviving primitive peoples there often exists a passion for the beautiful.⁶ Still more recent discoveries have demonstrated a remarkable love of beauty and fidelity to truth in expression among the cave dwellers of Europe throughout a period of several thousand years, sometime between fifteen and thirty thousand years before the historic period.⁷

⁵ Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. I, p. 161 ff. Also L. T. Hobhouse, *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, pp. 33-38.

⁶ See O. T. Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, chap. 8.

⁷ See Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, p. 281, and chap. V.

It is generally assumed that a relatively high civilization is necessary for much progress in the search for truth; whether or not this is so, it is true that man's earliest efforts to satisfy his curiosity often resulted in grotesque explanations. Religious belief and social custom long bar the way of the seeker after knowledge. Their acceptance, however, makes them determinants of conduct, regardless of their relation to truth *per se*. As Walter Lippmann points out, the approximation of our concepts to truth and reality is mainly accidental, and a considerable portion of our rationalized conduct is based upon misapprehension of fact.⁸

Civilization is far advanced before brave souls go behind religious and social tradition and seek to acquire scientific knowledge. Even when the scientific method has become the accepted way for ascertaining truth in the so-called learned groups, the ideas of truth of the masses are still traditional, although quasi-scientific in form.

Law and Government.

The form and expression of the social organization, also, is largely a heritage from the past. Even after a revolution, the mold into which society falls is mainly determined by traditional ideas of law and government. Any change in these ideas can be traced through successive stages of evolution, and the modifications accounted for as the result of counter influences, also products of the past.

As has been demonstrated clearly by the experience of vast reaches of rural Russia, since the Bolshevik Revolution, the destruction of the machinery of a given form of government does not produce prolonged chaos. The people fall back naturally into traditional ways of handling their civic affairs. Only when human association has become artificial to the last degree does the collapse or destruction of the forms of law and government result in social demoralization. It is doubtful if chaos could long continue

⁸ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, chap. I.

even in such a case. No generation is wholly without inherited ideas regarding social organization and control, and the exigencies of existence call forth these ideas.

Liberty.

There remains the consideration of the relation of the individual to the social group, and especially to the machinery of law and government. Here again the adjustment of the individual is not optional, except within certain narrow limits. Nevertheless, the exercise of choice within these limits is a matter of tremendous importance to most persons. Interference on the part of others or of the group in matters in which freedom is traditional, meets with the most stubborn resistance.

Historical and sociological research have shown us that these cherished ideas of liberty or freedom have varied from time to time in the emphasis placed on religious, political, economic or intellectual interests, but the characteristics remain constant. Freedom of thought, speech, worship, freedom from bondage, personal, political or economic, freedom from interference in the pursuit of life and happiness, these are the ideals most eagerly sought after. To these a highly evolved civilization is adding, by a slow process of expansion, freedom from ignorance, disease, suffering and want. Here again, as in the former considerations, the concept of liberty is not born in the generation in which it controls or determines conduct. It too is handed down from the past and has a history which can be traced to remote sources.

HISTORIC SOURCES OF FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS AND IDEALS

As successive waves of civilization advance, each farther than the last, contacts between civilizations occur, until as in our own case an intellectual heredity is derived from re-

mote and widely different sources. The student of modern society finds himself vitally interested in these origins, since the ideas and ideals which have come down to us are not harmonious but conflicting. This point can no longer be overlooked.⁹

The stream of thought and culture is now a mighty river. In its course it has felt the influence of many tributaries. Beneath its apparently placid surface are many cross currents and treacherous swirls, due, in part, to the uneven nature of its bed and to the turbulent rapids and precipices over which its waters have fallen. Rushing torrents have poured down from the hillsides and summer freshets have borne in their silt from the lower levels; but the main volume comes from four mighty sources whose fountains are in the well springs of the distant past.¹⁰ Chaldæa, Greece, Rome and North Europe form the basis of modern thought.

WHAT WE OWE TO THE JEWS

The departure of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees was not a unique event. The nomadic ancestors of the children of Israel were sprung from a Semitic stock, which, on the semi-barren fringes of the Babylonian civilization, had maintained for many centuries, a simple barbarism. The theatre in which the Israelites were to work out the details of their moral drama had known several cultures prior to that of the Amorites who were destined to be absorbed by the Hebrew invasion.¹¹ Nothing in the history of the Hebrews was new or unique; scarcely even the development of their religious ideas, as Robertson Smith and others have shown.

The traditions of the twelve tribes show them to possess certain well known characteristics of nomadic folk; a loose

⁹ See Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, pp. 42-47 and chap. II.

¹⁰ For a much more extended discussion of our debt to the past see F. S. Marvin, *The Living Past*.

¹¹ See S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*.

kinship organization slowly emerging from a patriarchal background; a group of moral ideas characteristically barbaric, just coming under the sanction of a slowly forming group religious influence; a god just emerging from a local to a tribal status, destined to become national.¹²

The attempted conquest of Canaan was only partially successful and was followed by many intertribal conflicts and frequent clashes with surrounding Semitic groups. The political and cultural achievements of the Hebrews were inconsequential. Their crude barbarism melted away in the face of the Amorite culture and later contact with the brilliant civilizations to the east and north. National life and national religion developed side by side, the former turbulent with inter-tribal struggle and civil strife, the latter characterized by the struggle for existence which the primitive religion was compelled to put up in conflict with the feudal religion of the Amorite portion of the population on the one hand and the steady encroachment of their own developing feudalism on the other.

Whether the development of Hebrew religion was the result of race experience¹³ or the outcome of the struggle between the religion of Yahweh and that of the Baalim,¹⁴ it is a fact that in their case the basic principle of religion remained essentially barbaric and social while the god concept passed from its crude primitive state to the noble ethical monotheism of the later prophets. The identification of social and religious duty stands out as the result of the Hebrew genius for religion. That the idea of deity should develop to the point where the doing of righteousness is of more importance than the performance of ritual is the crowning achievement of Hebrew history. The God of

¹² See L. Wallis, *A Sociological Study of the Bible*, chap. II.

¹³ See this theory developed in K. Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*.

¹⁴ See this thesis advanced in L. Wallis, *A Sociological Study of the Bible*.

Righteousness was destined to conquer the world after the God of Battles was to fade with the memory of an incipient kingdom.¹⁵

The establishment of the righteousness concept in a world system of religion by Jesus came at a fortunate time. The imminent collapse of the attenuated Hebrew state saved the ideal from identification with the fortunes of a crumbling nation. It entered the Græco-Roman world at a time when its national religion was decadent. It entered upon its task of conquering the Empire at about the same time and on a par with other Oriental cults with which it waged successful warfare.¹⁶ With its social elements largely obscured by its other-worldly aspects, it brought to a declining civilization the hope of future life based on good works done in this. The few remaining centuries of Roman life sufficed for Christianity to become the dominating religious organization which alone was to survive the collapse of the Roman State.

Thus, when the adventurous missionaries of the dark ages brought their gospel to the wild tribes of Western and Northern Europe, they were grafting on our civilization the righteousness ideals of the ancient Hebrew tribes.¹⁷ Obscured as they were by the sophistries of the theologians and the philosophers, those ideas were saved from posterity because they were embedded in the Hebrew-Christian scriptures which were one day to become common property. The discovery of the social nature of this inheritance was inevitable, though long delayed.

¹⁵ See J. M. P. Smith, *The Moral Life of the Hebrews*. Unfortunately Christian Theology reestablished many of the primitive characteristics of Yahweh which later Judæism had outgrown.

¹⁶ See F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*; and T. Glover, *Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire*.

¹⁷ See T. Workman, *The Foundations of Modern Religion*, Lecture II. A somewhat similar presentation is found in A. Harnack, *What is Christianity*, p. 269, and in S. G. Smith, *Democracy and the Church*, chap. III, pp. 71-74.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE GREEKS

If our ethics are Hebraic, our æsthetics are as undeniably Greek, although they have been much distorted and robbed of their joyous naturalness by the austerity of Hebrew ethics. Here, again, the barbaric foundations were laid in miniature, but from a racial and cultural source apparently distinct from the Semitic. Early history and tradition reveal the nearness of the barbaric period. The nautical character of the wanderings of the Hellenic tribes obscures somewhat their nomadic past. At this point the similarity between the Greek and Hebrew narratives ceases. The answer of the Hebrew mind to the riddle of the universe was a theological one; that of the Greeks was philosophical. While the Hebrew contented himself with a creation story attributing the cosmos to a divine architect, the Greek sought his explanation in a series of logical processes. Closely associated with his passion for knowledge was his love of symmetry and beauty, which early characterized the expression of his thoughts and the adornment of his physical surroundings. The polytheistic character of his religious inheritance robbed him of that intimate contact between religion and conduct which played so great a rôle in Hebrew life. While the world of the Greek was never fully differentiated from the realm of the gods, it lacked the centralization of the mores about a single god idea. This left religion unethic, and unidentified with the rationalized ideas of morality, which thus lacked the sanction of "thus saith the Lord." There was a closer connection between æsthetics and religion than there was between religion and morals.

The art of the Greeks attained its matchless perfection in the statues of the gods and the beautification of their temples. When this climax is reached the gods prove to be transcendent human beings whose magnificent proportions give evidence of perfect intellectual as well as physical endowments. This fact, coupled with the rather shady moral

history of some of the most popular of them, gives indisputable evidence of the identification of national religion with art and the intellect rather than with morals.

Even though the rationalized morals of the philosophers lacked the powerful sanction of religion during the national life of the Greeks, they profoundly affected three or four centuries of Roman life and came near eclipsing the simpler moral concepts of primitive Christianity. Indeed much of the Greek teaching was taken over by Christians, so much so that certain Greek thinkers were later identified by churchmen as Christian saints and teachers born out of due time. In their own day, however, they remained scholars rather than saints or priests.¹⁸

Just as the Hebrew concept of righteousness was brought to the foundations of our civilization by the church, so the philosophy of the Greeks, not yet differentiated from science of which it was the beginning, carved out a pathway to knowledge from which the Western World has not yet departed.¹⁹ Just as truly the Greek standard of beauty in thought and art, though modified and adapted in many ways, became the standard for our own civilization.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE ROMANS

While the Greek and Hebrew contributions to the modern world were worked out in miniature civilizations, the genius of Rome was to display itself in a majestic and far-flung amphitheatre. The religious inheritance of the Romans was similar to that of the Greeks, and it produced similar social consequences; but the Romans rose neither to the heights of beauty nor approximated the intellectual patterns of their Greek school-masters. Rome early manifested signs of her

¹⁸ J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, pp. 110-111, on this see further E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Thought and Usages on the Christian Church*; Dickinson, *The Greek View of Life*.

¹⁹ Robinson points out that the genius of the Greek mind stopped at scientific observation. Scientific experimentation had to wait for Western Civilization. See *Mind in the Making*, pp. 111-113. Also p. 151 ff.

coming greatness in ways which were foreign to Greek and Hebrew alike. The peninsula of Italy with Rome situated midway, made possible the defense, consolidation, and expansion of the Roman domain. With each stride came larger problems of organization and control. These problems afforded opportunity for the exercise of the Roman genius for law and government. The consolidation of the tribal stocks into a nation, imperfectly accomplished by the Hebrews and never achieved by the Greeks, was aided by the constant menace of powerful external enemies. By the time Carthage was destroyed the consolidation of the Latins was an accomplished fact. The way was now open for the extension of the Roman domain which was to continue until distance alone made further conquests unprofitable. Each new conquest brought with it its problems of incorporating the newly acquired population into the body of the Roman state. As long as the people thus absorbed were of the same cultural stock, the problem was mainly one of more extended and intricate machinery; but when the conquests began bringing in peoples of alien stock and widely differing stages of culture, the genius of Rome was put to its supreme test. The result was the abandonment of natural and traditional methods of binding peoples together, namely with the bonds of language, customs and religion. New bonds had to be devised, and these were found in a system of civil law and, what had become by the time of Diocletian, an admirably adapted governmental machinery. The power behind this artificial society was military. An abundant and superior soldiery were available, at first from the virile and warlike Roman population and later from the provinces; finally hired legionaries were secured from the most vigorous of the border peoples. When these failed, the power of Rome was gone.

One must not make the mistake, however, of assuming that the great career of the Empire was dependent entirely upon military force. The peace and stability brought to her

subjects contributed to make the conquering state a benefactor as well as an exploiter. Otherwise the hundreds of years of Roman dominance would not have been possible. The net deposit of this greatest of all political experiments of antiquity was a wealth of law and letters which survived the collapse of the empire, and has brought to us a picture of the social life and a history of the workings of the governmental and legal machinery.²⁰ As Renan has made clear, this Roman legal and political system was to have a tremendous influence on the Roman Catholic Church, the rise of which has been called by a great modern historian, "The Rise of the New Rome." The constant influx of barbarians to the great centers of the Roman state served to replenish the depleted populations where the wear and tear of civilization were greatest. In the daily life and affairs of the masses, the Roman civil and legal machinery continued to work long after the gigantic structure began breaking down from the top. The Roman state crumbled finally, only when the machine of empire became too vast and complicated for its human directing forces. The admirable imperial system worked out by Diocletian was weakened and partially invalidated by the graft and corruption of preceding centuries. The taxation system extinguished the middle class, and the autocratic landlords defied the tax collectors. Land exhaustion, climatic changes and malaria, as well as biological deterioration, may have played their part as well. The final infiltration of the barbarians met with little resistance. Nevertheless, the ruined empire furnished the schoolmasters from whom they were to learn law and government.²¹

²⁰ Dill, *Roman Society*, vol. II, Book II, chap. I.

²¹ The best brief work on Greek history is G. W. Botsford, *Hellenic History*; while T. Frank's *History of Rome* is the most satisfactory manual on that subject. The whole subject is covered in elaborate fashion in the *Our Debt to Greece and Rome* series published by the Marshall Jones Company of Boston. On the influence of Roman law see P. Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe*.

NORTH EUROPEAN CONCEPTS OF FREEDOM

The barbarian stocks which furnished the fourth source of Western Civilization originally roamed the wilds from the borders of the Roman state to the northern seas. From thence, in successive waves, were to move west and south the migrating tribes who were to furnish the biological basis for our own civilization. It was among these wild freebooters that the attitude toward social machinery was to develop which was to characterize the western world.

The so-called Romance nations accepted docilely the dominance of the Church. The revolt against religious control was inevitable in the north. The northern peoples made stubborn resistance against oppression, in contrast with the submission of oriental peoples to arrogant and successful exploitation. Representative and constitutional government, the secure and stable democracies of small peoples like Switzerland and Holland, the Declaration of Independence, all testify to a passion for liberty not incompatible with law and order. Restiveness under restraint, modified by an instinct for orderly procedure and a development of the Christian doctrines of equality, laid the foundations for the modern Democratic movement. It is one with the revolt against ignorance and superstition, the new scientific outlook on life. It is also at one with the present-day revolt against industrial feudalism. To the Germanic contributions to the ideals of liberty should be added the proletarian upheavals of the nineteenth century following the industrial revolution, and, above all, the contributions of the American frontier society to democracy and individualism which have been so profoundly studied by Professor Frederick Jackson Turner and his disciples.²²

The attempt to accomplish liberty without license under the exceedingly artificial conditions of civilization is

²² See article by H. E. Barnes, "The Historical Development of Democracy" in *Encyclopedia Americana*.

the most hazardous experiment humanity has undertaken. Whether our civilization will prove as successful in adapting it to its world expansion as Rome was with its program of civil law remains to be seen. The experiment is but fairly begun.²³

Around these basic ideals of Righteousness, Knowledge and Beauty, Law and Government, and Liberty, are grouped numerous deviants. All together they constitute the standards of our civilization. As we have already pointed out, ideals are always in process of development, and around this basic inheritance our generation is constructing certain definite determinants for conduct of far reaching consequence.

Viewed by itself, each of our inherited ideals seems wholly good. They and their modern by-products do not reveal their sinister qualities until judged by their results in modern life. However, all things must submit to the test of social utility. Do the results make for social solidarity and increased human well-being? It is when measured by this rule that the conflicting nature of our basic ideals reveals itself. Does the ideal of righteousness produce a race of degenerates, or can it be brought under the dominance of an intelligent selective process? Do ideals of knowledge and beauty threaten the social nature of man? Do the ideals of law and government adapt themselves to the common good, or do they provide an opportunity for the exploitation of the weak by the strong? Can the ideal of liberty provide a stable social system when the natural safeguards of kinship, national interest, and cultural and religious unity disappear?

CONFLICT OF IDEAS AND IDEALS NOW APPARENT

Only in our own time has the menace of an excess of devo-

²³ See the thorough and systematic study of current opinion as to the present success and future destiny of democracy by M. M. Willey in C. E. Merriam and H. E. Barnes, *A History of Political Theories: Recent Times*, chap. II.

tion to one or another of these ideals become apparent. Perhaps the greatest of all reasons for this delayed recognition has been the prevailing religious attitude toward life. The righteousness ideal came to our civilization embedded in a religious system which placed the point of interest in a future existence rather than in this. Quite naturally, then, all actions were viewed in the light of whether they increased or jeopardized one's chances of Heaven, rather than from the standpoint of their social consequences. To be sure, a righteous social order was highly to be desired, as it made the road to future life less difficult. There was grave danger, however, that the attractiveness of this existence might detract to a dangerous extent from interest in the next. The social benefits of Christianity, tremendous as they proved to be, were by-products, and not the main goal of religious endeavor. Under these circumstances, vicious social conditions were not in the nature of catastrophes, since the social order was destined to pass away in the course of events.

Other-worldly religion is characteristic of a dying civilization, and eschatological Christianity was destined to come into conflict with the youth, vigor and optimism of the western world. As the result of the new knowledge regarding man and the world, the traditional oriental religious attitude toward life came under suspicion. The increasing attractiveness of this life, while it did not immediately challenge the supremacy of the next in the aspirations of men, certainly lessened the desirability of a speedy translation. No sooner did man begin to adjust himself to the idea of an indefinitely prolonged human society than he began to question whether or not it could be made better. The discovery of the social content of the teachings of the Hebrew Prophets and of Jesus gave religious sanction to this search.

With the growing ascendancy of the importance of this life in the thoughts of men, there was an increasing tendency to scrutinize motives and conduct of men and the social

consequences of institutions. The break in the control of dominant religious ideas in human affairs left the way open for other determinants of conduct. The question of what is a good life now might have many answers, and for the first time in modern society there was opportunity for individual choice free from any considerable social constraint.²⁴

On the other hand, honor, glory and fame began to have other motivation than service to God or the king. Many new avenues opened up, promising the direct and short road to happiness and success with the result that traditional ideas began to totter and fundamental institutions were imperilled. New opportunities to secure wealth were abundant and the rewards of success were material and evident. A far-reaching consequence was the ease with which unsocial individuals and groups could further their own selfish ends under the cloak of patriotism or apparent devotion to the needs of humanity.

Results, in time, have a way of revealing the true nature of antecedent activity. We awake to find that conflicting ideals operate unnoticed until results make them conspicuous. As has been ably pointed out by contemporary writers, the great crisis in which civilization finds itself is chiefly the result of the working out in the affairs of men, of individualistic and un-social, not to say anti-social, ideals and motives for conduct. When a nation is actuated by un-social ideals in its international relations, the extent of the consequent disaster is limited only by the power of that nation for doing mischief. The familiar theological proposition that the sins of an individual imperil the souls of his associates has a modern counterpart in the social philosophy which finds the anti-social nation a menace to world peace and human progress.

²⁴ For a study of the gradual decline of the other worldly view of life see H. E. Barnes, "The Historical Background of the Philosophy of Francis Bacon," in the *Scientific Monthly*, May, 1924.

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III

CONFLICTING AIMS AND THEIR SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

CIVILIZATIONS, like individuals, seldom rise above the level of their fundamental aspirations. If these aspirations are conflicting in their nature, development may occur along diverging lines for a time without the conflict becoming conspicuous. When, however, the antagonism becomes apparent, a life and death struggle ensues which may jeopardize the civilization itself.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS FROM INHERITED IDEALS

In the preceding chapter, the attention of the reader was called to the fact that each generation modifies or develops the concepts received from its predecessor before passing them on to succeeding generations. It is in this modification and development that their conflicting nature becomes apparent. In other words, it was not until our ideas and ideals began bearing fruit in human thought and institutions that their real nature was fully understood.

It is not by accident that the noble but somewhat incoherent humanitarianism of our civilization has been challenged by an arrogant and powerful individualism. The final triumph of humanitarianism is by no means assured.

Philosophers and statesmen have long been conscious of a fact which has recently been made conspicuous to all men. Individuals and groups find themselves divided upon the issue of whether spiritual values and the common good, or individualism and materialism, shall have the ascendancy. So confident has our civilization been of its Christian virtues

and humanitarian programs, that it has looked with good-natured tolerance upon the development of an astounding individualism. It even played in a dilettante fashion with the ideas of Machiavelli and his modern disciples, Nietzsche and Bernhardt. The doctrine of "might makes right" has grown to full and powerful maturity in the midst of a civilization which was beginning to dream fondly of a Kingdom of Heaven on Earth.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF VARIOUS IDEALS

The issue between spiritual values and the common good on the one hand and individualism and materialism on the other has a profound significance for the sociologist as well as for the moralist and statesman. In the last analysis, ideals as well as individuals and institutions must be judged by their effects upon the social body. If they make for social solidarity and progress, they are good. If they make for social disintegration and decay, then no matter how attractive their fruits may appear, they are bad, and an intelligent civilization must uproot them or suffer disaster.

A brief study of the social influences of our fundamental ideas and ideals and some modern developments of them will suffice to make clear the reasons for conflicting results.

In spite of the other-worldly aspects of historic Christianity, the social content of the Christian religion, carried over from the Hebrew prophets, embraces those fundamentals upon which social solidarity depends. Filial affections, helpfulness, co-operation, service, the responsibility of the strong for the weak and helpless, mercy and gentleness, the realization of self in the common good are all primary group ideas which were greatly strengthened by Christianity.¹ The ideal of righteousness, then, must be put upon the social side of the scale. Even this ideal, however, may have anti-social effects when guided only by the emotions; this aspect of the problem will be discussed later.

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, chaps. III-V.

It may be debated whether art and learning, dissociated from social religion, may or may not be conducive to individualism. In the past, so-called higher culture most often has led its devotees away from contact and sympathy with the common herd. On the other hand, when viewed from the standpoint of the social benefits derived from dispelling ignorance, and the adornment of man's surroundings as a result of ideals of knowledge and beauty, one hesitates to classify them hastily as either inherently social or non-social. It is in their by-products that their fundamental nature is revealed. In these we discover that knowledge and beauty must be placed on the dividing line, depending for their results upon how they are combined with other ideals.

The same might be said of the social consequences of the ideas of Law and Government. Both of these concepts, under primitive conditions, made for social solidarity and stability. As we have inherited them, however, both are dissociated rather widely from those natural conditions which were their greatest safeguards. Under the exceedingly artificial conditions of civilization, our inherited ideals of law and government have tended to be individualistic in the extreme.² Their sanction in police and military force is the last word in materialism. Our recent experiments with democracy, unfortunately, have not justified our fondest hopes for a solution of the problem of organizing and stabilizing heterogeneous groups of men. In the absence of common blood, language, customs, traditions and religious beliefs, conditions which made primitive society stable, Rome was able to prolong her existence through the use of legal machinery backed up by military power until the physical energy of the empire was exhausted. Modern civilization is attempting to substitute good-will for military coercion, resorting to the latter only in crises and with increasing re-

² See, for example, W. G. Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*; J. R. Day, *The Raid on Prosperity*; and C. Walker, *The Things that are Cæsar's*.

luctance. Whether a basis in common humanity, stripped of all the other primitive safeguards of society, shall prove sufficient for a stable world state is yet to be demonstrated. The anarchist's fear of governmental machinery because of the facility with which it falls into the hands of special groups is far from being unfounded in the light of history. That men have resorted to arms in the interests of materialism much more frequently than in the interests of humanity is a fact which few will dispute.³

The ideal of liberty has scarcely ever been comprehended in its entirety. The fundamental reason for this may be found in the fact that the idea does not rise into consciousness except in actual or threatened deprivation. Consequently history furnishes illustrations in which the ideal has special connotations. Men have fought for liberty from political oppression, for freedom of worship, thought and speech. The concept of liberty as freedom from restraint of all kinds is a result of rationalization indulged in only by philosophers and dreamers. Consequently, the idea of liberty has been much in the nature of a fetish, raised as a standard by all the legions of unrest. Not always has the struggle for liberty made for social solidarity. It is obvious, therefore, that the ideal of liberty cannot be classified as either social or non-social. As in the case of knowledge and beauty, law and government, the ideal of liberty must be judged by its results in combination with other factors.⁴

It is necessary, then, to analyze our inherited ideals in the light of their modern combinations and by-products.

As we have indicated above, the righteousness ideal, guided only by the emotions—misguided sympathy—has vastly increased human wretchedness and hastened the pro-

³ J. M. Bakeless, *The Economic Causes of Modern Wars*; W. Irwin, *Christ or Mars?*

⁴ G. L. Scherger, *The Evolution of Modern Liberty*; and L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism*.

cess of physical and social degeneration. Enlightened sympathy, which is a combination of intelligence and the desire to serve, aided by knowledge, gives us all movements for human betterment which are scientific, i. e., undertaken with a view to ulterior as well as to immediate results. Modern movements for social betterment, then, in the broad meaning of that term, are the outgrowth of the combination of the ideal of learning (science) and the ideal of righteousness in its purely social aspects.

That the modern democratic movement is an outgrowth of the combination of the ideas of equality and justice,—parts of the righteousness ideal,—with the robust love of liberty of our tribal ancestors has been ably demonstrated by not a few scholars.⁵ The movement has been characterized as much by a revolt against religious tyranny as by that against political autocracy. It is now coming to be characterized by a revolt against economic exploitation as well. Up to a certain point, these developments may be considered as on the side of social solidarity and progress.

A death blow was struck at ignorance and superstition when learning fell into the hands of the vigorous intelligence of the Western World.⁶ From this time on, the theological explanation of the universe became increasingly unsatisfactory. The new astronomy with its accompanying cosmology; the law of gravitation with its resultant physics and chemistry; the doctrine of evolution and the development of modern biology, were destined to give man a new heaven and a new earth. It is not surprising, therefore, that the enthusiasm generated by this successful revolt against the past should overstep the bounds of usefulness and develop an attitude of scepticism toward other inherited beliefs and institutions which are of proved social utility.

Unequal sharing of the benefits of learning coupled with

⁵ A good illustration will be found in S. G. Smith's *Democracy and the Church*.

⁶ F. S. Marvin, *The Century of Hope*; J. H. Robinson, *The Humanizing of Knowledge*.

the unprecedented material rewards of individualism have tended to free individuals and considerable groups from practically all sense of oneness with the rest of society. This has resulted in an exceedingly attractive individualistic philosophy of life which justifies the successful materialist, and soothes his latent social consciousness with an alluring opportunity for philanthropy which he attributes to the goodness of his heart rather than to any sense of social responsibility. Individual rights, grown unduly important because of material accompaniments, seem to justify the resort to force in their defense and the machinery of government and military force become necessary to preserve the individualistic order. It is then but a step to the assumption that the less favored masses of human beings are fortunate to be permitted to live, and ought willingly and gratefully to conform to the established order so admirably arranged by the enlightened and benevolent few.⁷

With the breakdown of traditional machinery for socializing the individual, most notably organized religion and the home, the young find themselves increasingly free to choose their own course of action. Before them, in sharp contrast, are two distinct paths. The rewards of individualism are material, conspicuous, alluring, and personal. The rewards of social idealism are spiritual, intangible, often indefinitely postponed, and vicarious. The result of this situation is surprising not in that so many choose to strive for the more apparent and tangible results, but that in the face of this condition, a goodly number still choose the way of enlightenment.

CONFLICT IN IDEALS INCREASINGLY APPARENT

In the light of the foregoing analysis, it is apparent, then, that the motives for human conduct group themselves around

⁷ A good discussion of this point in connection with the idea of private property will be found in R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, chap. III; see also T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.

two poles. In connection with these, men develop certain catch phrases or shibboleths which are of tremendous power. On the one hand the idea of rights assumes exaggerated importance, on the other stands the idea of duties. On one side we find all that is embodied in the verb "get," on the other all that is associated with the word "give." Still further we may extend the analogy with the words "use" and "serve."⁸

CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL INTERESTS

In the life of the average individual, there is a strange and generally unconscious blending of these two sets of ideas. Unfortunately our most serious contacts with the world in business and in politics seem to make necessary the observance of practices unworthy of our nobler aspirations. Unsocial ideals, however, are the most sinister when actuating those individuals and groups of persons who are in positions of influence and power, such as educators, politicians and captains of industry. Against these ideals, the socially-minded are at a disadvantage, if they fight only with the badly damaged weapons of religion, the home and moral respectability, since their antagonists claim to be fighting with the same weapons. Under these circumstances there is no recourse for the forces of righteousness other than to hasten the spread of enlightenment, and to have faith in the fundamental rectitude of humanity. Pending this outcome there must be devoted and determined resistance to whatever forms of evil there may be in existence, resulting from the presence in society of obviously unsocial and anti-social persons.

It is evident, then, that an important phase of the Social Problem is to be found in the absence of a fundamental unity in our ideas as to the purposes of life. Never before in the history of the race has the conflict between the individual and the group been more sharply drawn than at the present

⁸ G. Wallas, *Our Social Heritage*.

time.⁹ The absence of unity of purpose shows itself in important ways other than in ideal and social conflicts. The failure to identify the interests of the individual and of the group shows itself in the attitude of modern civilization toward its physical and biological resources; in the manner of sustaining the population through the industrial process; and in the attitude of individuals toward certain fundamental social institutions, namely religion and morals, the family, justice, law and government, and property.

EXPLOITATION AND WASTE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Civilization has never solved the problem of adjusting itself to its physical resources. As valuable as the institution of property has been in removing man from the conditions of barbarism, it contains within it a germ which, when brought to fruition, threatens to bring about the dissolution of society. The institution was present only in its most elemental form in primitive society. As primitive social life begins to break down in the face of advancing civilization, property tends to gravitate into the hands of individuals. These individuals maintain their normal social relationships with increasing difficulty until finally their material interests offset their social interests.¹⁰ Property was concentrating in the hands of a relatively small portion of the population in the Western World when the discovery of new continents provided an access to free or easily acquired property on an unprecedented scale. The resultant redistribution of population with reference to its physical resources produced an entirely new and untried situation. Never before had so large a proportion of the population been in undisputed possession of sufficient material resources to maintain themselves.

Certain other factors at work were soon to begin the dis-

⁹ M. P. Follett, *The New State*.

¹⁰ A good recent discussion of this will be found in R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, chaps. I-III.

ruption of this apparently ideal condition. These factors were the progress of education and the advance of mechanical devices for more rapidly transforming natural resources into free wealth. As a result, Western Civilization entered into an orgy of wealth creation comparable to which past history offers nothing. As the speed of the wealth-making process accelerated, the interests of society were lost sight of in the mad stampede to improve the material condition of the individual. As a result, civilization finds itself in some quarters with certain of its natural resources practically exhausted and the reserve supply of others rapidly diminishing. In this process little thought has been given to future needs or to the social consequences of enormous quantities of wealth being stored up in the hands of individuals. Only recently have notes of warning been sounded and beginnings suggested in the direction of conservation of natural resources.

The fertility of the soil, forests, fuel, the minerals and precious metals are a heritage of the race, and of value only because of social utility. That these assets should be plundered for the enrichment of a single generation to the deprivation of all subsequent generations is the seed of evil in the institution of private property come to full maturity.¹¹

Western Civilization has discovered that health and physical vitality are the most important assets of a population. Preliminary investigations as to the condition of these assets revealed the shocking fact that we have been as wasteful of health and physical vitality as we have been of our material resources.¹² Exhausted soils may be restored to productivity by fertilizing and scientific agriculture, building materials may be found to take the place of wood, and heat and power may be secured from our streams or conceivably sometime from the atmosphere or the sun's rays; but wasted health and physical vitality are disastrous beyond compari-

¹¹ C. H. Van Hise, *The Conservation of Natural Resources*.

¹² Irving Fisher, *National Vitality* etc., Senate Doc. No. 676.

son because they strike at the very foundation of society. Once exhausted, there is nothing else to sustain civilization.¹³ Recent investigations, so recent in fact that their full significance is not yet appreciated, reveal the fact that the waste of life and vitality and the strain put upon the human organism by our living and working conditions is beginning to impair the hereditary stock. Here again, we are plundering the future in the interest of the present, and storing up disaster for coming generations. We shall have occasion to return to this fact in a later discussion.

In primitive society, there were rarely rich or poor in the modern sense of those terms.¹⁴ If the group was fortunate enough to occupy a habitat abounding in the necessities of life, all shared in the good fortune. If, on the other hand, the environment was niggardly, all shared in the necessary privation. It remained for civilization to produce a condition where in the same group some individuals suffer for want of the necessities of life while others have every want satisfied and to spare. Our civilization may boast that the lot, even of its poor, is better than that of primitive man. It must, however, plead guilty to the indictment, that in an economic environment in which poverty is unnecessary, we still have an appalling proportion of the population deprived of some of the necessities of life.¹⁵ It is a well-known sociological fact that poverty is a relative condition. Our generation has been successful in making knowledge available to the entire people to a much greater degree than it has made possible certain highly desirable economic accompaniments of knowledge. However much social diagnosis

¹³ L. Stoddard, *The Revolt Against Civilization*, chap. II. Also C. A. Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, pp. 103-142; E. M. East, *Mankind at the Cross-Roads*; and S. J. Holmes, *The Trend of the Race*.

¹⁴ For the facts see R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*.

¹⁵ For an excellent summary of opinions regarding poverty in England and the United States see J. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency*, chap. IV. For a much more extended discussion see M. Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*.

may vary as to what things are necessary to a socially satisfactory existence for the individual, the fact remains that from twenty to sixty per cent of the population of the most favored nation in the world falls below the poverty line.¹⁶

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS IN THE INDUSTRIAL PROCESS

Making due allowances for differences in strength and ability in persons, the distressing inequality in the distribution of material goods is largely traceable to definite evils in our economic system.¹⁷ The fundamental cause lies in the nature of the adjustment of our civilization to its physical resources, and in the established method of adapting them to human needs and desires. The evils of the capitalistic system of maintaining society have been perceived and pointed out both by its friends and its enemies. They differ only in the method proposed for counteracting those evils. Since it is not the province of this volume to enter into a discussion of the merits of proposed solutions of social problems, we will confine our consideration to the evils which are conceded to inhere in the modern industrial process.

The history of past civilizations has demonstrated that there are many ways in which wealth produced by the many may be concentrated in the hands of the few. Brigandage, piracy and marauding or plundering warfare, although often within the bounds of respectability, have, nevertheless, been quite generally beyond the bounds of legality. Appropriation of votive offerings proved to be a successful method as long as the populace could be kept at the requisite

¹⁶ The exact percentage of persons in poverty at any given time depends upon what standard of living is accepted as a basis of calculation. If bare subsistence is the standard, the percentage in poverty is relatively low. If efficiency is the standard the number is necessarily much greater. What have been called "decency standards" would raise the number of those deprived of some things which life ought to afford to over half of the population.

¹⁷ *Waste in Industry*, N. Y., McGraw Hill Co., 1922,

stage of religious devotion. The extent and duration of the success of this method have been revealed by the history of the religiocentric Egyptian monarchies, made vivid to us by the recent discovery of the tomb of Tut-ankh-amen. The direct appropriation of the fruits of human labor through slavery has resulted in the demoralization of the free population and has produced an unstable society. Taxation has proved to be a fruitful source of funds for legitimate state expenditure, but excessive taxation and confiscation of property to support an idle class and to finance excessive indulgence have made for the destruction of both exploited and exploiters. The modern capitalistic system of production makes possible the exploitation of the masses to a degree so evenly distributed as to be well nigh unappreciable, which nevertheless serves to enrich the beneficiaries of that system to a prodigious extent. Perhaps, after all, it is not the exploitation which is so disastrous socially as the concentration of wealth which results from it.

EXPLOITATION IN INDUSTRY

The capitalistic system of producing wealth makes possible the exploitation of society on an unprecedented scale.¹⁸ This exploitation takes three definite forms which may operate singly or jointly. Most obvious of these is the much discussed exploitation of labor by the employer. Less obvious, perhaps, but still quite evident, is the exploitation of the consumer. A third and not yet fully appreciated form of exploitation, is the exploitation of the producer of raw materials of various kinds. Still another form of exploitation is worthy of consideration in this connection, although perhaps not properly classifiable with the three already mentioned; that is the exploitation of new needs or desires created by a certain measure of prosperity enjoyed by a considerable portion of society, in spite of, or maybe on account of the capitalistic system.

¹⁸ S. and B. Webb, *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization*.

The evils resulting from the exploitation of labor are much easier to analyze than the exploitation itself. The actual extent of the exploitation at any given moment has been subject to much discussion and has caused great difference of opinion. Probably only rarely has it amounted to a considerable sum in the case of each individual worker. In a plant employing several thousand workers, an exploitation of a very few cents in the case of each employee would amount to a considerable total in the form of gain for the employer. Under normal conditions, the law of supply and demand of labor would still be operative to a sufficient extent to prevent the exploitation of the laborer to a very considerable degree. Let us assume, however, that the exploitation per worker should amount to a dollar per day, a convenient sum for purposes of illustration. In case there are five thousand employees, this exploitation would amount to five thousand dollars per day or thirty thousand dollars per week and a rough total of a million and a half dollars per year, a sum inconceivably large in that it would make the profits from this source alone amount to from twenty to twenty-five per cent of the entire labor cost, which in American industry from 1850 to 1910 ranged from 36 to 47 per cent of production cost.¹⁹ Some comparatively recent industrial developments have revealed the fact that profits on industry may have little relation to exploitation of labor, it being characteristic of certain forms of industry rather than of the process. The enormous profits of the Ford Motor industry are accrued on the basis of a wage beyond the highest standards of living hoped for hitherto. Another illustration in point is the case of the Standard Oil Company which has adopted a wage system apparently highly satisfactory to its employees which yet permits a profit to stockholders hitherto almost unheard of.

What, then, are the evils of exploitation in industry?

¹⁹ W. I. King, *Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, p. 161.

Two of them are so serious as to merit careful consideration. They lie in the fact that exploitation is most common in industries employing large numbers of low wage workers and in the fact that the presence of exploitation in any industry leads to unrest, dissatisfaction, and resentment in the ranks of labor generally. The results are two distinct problems vitally affecting labor in particular and society in general.

Obviously, the opportunity for exploitation of labor would be greatest in those industries in which labor contributes most to the value of the finished product. In certain lines of work, the value contributed by labor greatly exceeds the value of raw materials or the value added by capital invested in machinery. This varies greatly in different industries, as may be seen by the appended table and graph.

Such an arrangement in the wealth-producing process requires the bulk of profits to be drawn from labor values. Profits then bear a close relation to the number of men employed and to the wages paid them. The natural consequence is that such industries employ a large labor force at a relatively low wage. This being the case, exploitation, even to a slight degree, results in hardship seemingly out of all proportion to the actual amount of money involved. The reason for this is obvious to all students of social problems. The fundamentals of a standard of living for a working man's family are approximately the same, whether he gets a high wage or a low one. If, as in the case of a high wage, there is a considerable margin or surplus between the wage and the cost of these fundamentals, the lopping off of a portion of this margin by exploitation would lessen the amount of money available to procure non-essentials if not luxuries. In a low wage group where income is close to or below the amount necessary for minimum standards of living, exploitation represents actual deprivation of necessities. Profits to the employer from exploitation of this character result in actual poverty among the employees. The difference between wages and actual costs of maintaining the existence of

COMPARATIVE VALUES OF CAPITAL, WAGES AND COST OF MATERIAL
IN 8 INDUSTRIES

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i>Wages</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i>Cost of Material</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i>Total Operating Capital</i>
Boots and Shoes	\$ 580,825,075	39%	\$210,734,610	14%	\$ 715,269,315	47%	\$1,506,629,000
Cotton Goods	1,853,099,816	53%	355,474,937	10%	1,277,785,597	37%	3,486,360,350
Lumber and Timber	1,357,991,571	59%	489,419,091	21%	470,960,488	20%	2,318,371,150
Paints	177,314,815	48%	19,550,371	6%	165,604,116	46%	362,469,302
Printing and Publishing	614,045,344	58%	144,348,173	14%	300,385,187	28%	1,058,778,704
Rubber tires, tubes and rubber goods	782,637,722	53%	156,806,828	11%	525,686,309	36%	1,465,130,859
Sugar (beet)	224,584,679	69%	15,908,118	5%	87,029,144	26%	327,521,941
Slaughtering and Meat packing	1,176,483,643	23%	209,489,263	4%	3,782,929,533	73%	5,168,902,439

Figures taken from the 1920 United States Census

labor under these conditions is supplied directly by society in charity or indirectly in the costs of the many resultant phases of social pathology. Industries which enrich their owners and return to society in wages and the value of finished products less than the actual cost of those products are truly parasitical and indefensible, and cannot be harmonized with good business or social ethics.

It is not necessary in this volume to enter into an extended discussion of the social consequences of poverty. The significant point for our discussion is that the social consequences of poverty thus caused are in large part avoidable and not wholly the result of necessity.

History has given abundant evidences that poverty is not necessarily a barrier to contentment and growth of the human spirit. Quite frequently, poverty due to lack of resources has aided the development of things of the spirit. Some of the noblest cultural achievements of mankind which have immeasurably enriched the race have sprung from conditions extremely poor if compared with modern American standards. It is poverty in the midst of plenty, poverty born of injustice, sordid and inexcusable poverty, which breeds discontent and suspicion, and engenders hatred. These can not produce anything but social antagonisms, revolution and ultimate social decay.

Laborers generally have not much opportunity for discrimination. The presence, therefore, of obvious exploitation of labor in some industries, leads naturally to the conclusion that exploitation of labor is characteristic of the entire industrial process, and inseparable from the capitalistic system of production. This conviction, injects into industry the element of conflict or warfare between employer and employee where the natural relation should be one of co-operation and collaboration. This hostility causes both sides to resort to methods which are injurious and wasteful when viewed from a social standpoint, since neither capital nor labor can function at the point of its highest efficiency

under these conditions.²⁰ The weapon employed in this warfare is force. Most students of social phenomena now clearly recognize that neither capital or labor can ultimately triumph by forcible conquest of the other. Mutual understanding and co-operation are the only solution of the industrial controversy, and these cannot be engendered in the presence of economic exploitation and its resultant avoidable poverty.²¹

EXPLOITATION OF THE CONSUMER

Viewed solely from the standpoint of its extent, exploitation of the consumer far surpasses the exploitation of labor. Everyone is a consumer, and everyone is more or less exploited. The social consequences of this exploitation are perhaps not so serious as in the case of labor, since it is largely unnoticed. In spite of the difference in extent of these two phenomena, their social consequences are in a number of respects identical. The burden of exploitation rests most heavily upon consumers of small means. Their limited resources make it impossible for them to purchase in quantity where prices and values are nearest each other. Processes necessary to small quantity distribution add to the costs without adding to utility values,—in fact, they frequently subtract from them. Thus exploitation of consumers is greatest at the point where it is most hardly borne. The proportion of poverty due to this cause is difficult to estimate, but it is considerable. The resentment of the exploited in this instance is more vague and indefinite than in the case of the exploitation of labor, but it is not negligible.

In a later chapter, we shall discuss the problems arising from the transition of an ever increasing proportion of the population from primary to secondary means of subsistence. It will suffice here to call the reader's attention to the fact that wage workers generally subsist upon supplies which

²⁰ G. D. H. Cole, *Chaos and Order in Industry*.

²¹ F. Tannenbaum, *The Labor Movement*.

they do not produce. The fact that the necessities of life are produced elsewhere, places wage-earning consumers at the mercy of a vicious industrial situation. The greater the distance of the consumer from the source of his supplies, and the greater the number of processes of manufacture and handling in transition, the greater are the chances of exploitation. Every actual service rendered along the line is represented in actual value of the commodity; but to this is added, in the final price to the consumer, every profit taken on every process.

EXPLOITATION OF PRODUCER

Capitalistic industry makes possible a third type of exploitation which has received little consideration until recently,—namely, the exploitation of the products of extractive industry.²² It is not accidental that capitalistic industry has been slow to invade the field of agriculture, horticulture and animal husbandry. It is much more profitable to exploit the independent producer in these fields than it is to invest capital and to produce with hired labor. The reason for this lies in the fact that the tenant or owner producer, living largely on the fruits of his labor, can subsist at a much lower money wage than an industrial worker. Much of his labor goes entirely without financial compensation because there is not a direct connection between it and a wage as in the case of his industrial brother. This makes the disproportion between his labor and his compensation hard to perceive. He therefore, submits to these conditions far beyond the point at which a wage-earner would rebel.

Under the above described circumstances, capital finds its greatest opportunity for profit in the handling of goods which are produced at a minimum of cost by a system which it could not duplicate. If it can keep these costs below those entailed by an industrialization of production, its

²² C. H. Van Hise, *The Conservation of Natural Resources*.

greatest opportunity lies in exploiting the processes of transportation, manufacture and distribution.

Recent agitation over the condition of the farmer, the effort in the direction of organization of rural industry and the participation of agricultural groups in politics are but the revolt of the farmers against this exploitation.²³ Even now, the reason for the revolt is not so much an appreciation of the fact of exploitation as the discovery of the sharp contrast between their lot and that of the industrial and professional groups. This is indicated in the resentment of the agricultural population toward city dwellers, toward higher education and toward culture generally.

The results of the exploitation of the producers of raw materials are quite different from those of exploitation of laborer and consumer. Rural populations are not poor in the sense that city dwellers and workers are. The reasons lie in the nearness of the farmer to his means of subsistence, and the fact that many of his satisfactions cost him little or nothing. He makes the most of this pleasure and may get psychic stimulation out of the very nature of his existence. The principal source of danger to society lies in the fact that one phase of the revolt of the rural population shows itself in the prevailing tendency among the young to abandon the country for the more attractive and apparently more remunerative life of the towns. In the past, at least, the population of the country, the village and the small town has been the source of the greater part of our moral, spiritual and social leadership, as well as our idealism. It is an open question whether the cities, under prevailing industrial conditions, will be able to provide these in the event of the break-down of rural populations which, apparently, is well under way.²⁴ The farmer's close contact with the abiding forces of nature makes him inherently conservative; there

²³ S. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*; C. E. Russell, *The Non-Partisan League*; A. Capper, *The Agricultural Bloc*.

²⁴ The reader will find a more hopeful view in F. C. Howe, *The City the Hope of Democracy*.

is ordinarily little danger of radicalism among rural populations. What we have to fear is the gradual lowering of the levels of physical vitality and intelligence of the rural population as a result of the constant draining off of the enterprising, capable, and efficient elements in response to the lure of the towns. We cannot look with composure upon the development of a degenerate peasant population in the American countryside.

In its direct bearing upon the problems of to-day, the exploitation of new desires and needs, what might be called the exploitation of prosperity, although not as important as those forms which we have already discussed, nevertheless warrants some consideration. This form of exploitation, unlike the others, has no direct connection with poverty. While it may entail unwise choices in the use of the surplus earnings of the professional and middle classes, it may have certain compensations which far offset these disadvantages. A good case in point is the automobile industry which has led to the accumulation of fabulous fortunes in a relatively short period of time. It cannot be denied that the automobile has dissipated a host of meager savings which could ill be spared for pleasure, and involved many individuals in debt from which they may escape with difficulty, or not at all. On the other hand, it has added immeasurably to the wholesome sources of enjoyment and made possible new and varied experiences in social life. The conspicuous danger of this form of exploitation is one which it shares with all other forms,—namely, the rapidity with which it concentrates wealth in the hands of the few.

The evils in this concentration has been apparent since the beginnings of the industrial revolution.²⁵ When machines were invented to do the work of hands and artificial power took the place of human energy, men conceived of the speedy coming of the time when but a small part of the time of society would be devoted to maintaining existence

²⁵ M. Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*; R. Hunter, *Poverty*.

and the remainder would be free for all kinds of idealistic pursuits. These dreams were never realized. The insatiable maw of human greed was distended with new and unprecedented gains. Those in control of the new form of industry intrenched themselves in the government and appropriated the machinery of legislation and justice. From that day to this, efforts of reformers to secure a more equitable distribution of wealth created by the industrial process, have been met with determined resistance on the part of many who were being vastly enriched thereby.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

The social consequences of the unequal distribution of wealth lend themselves readily to analysis. Perhaps the gravest of these are the creation of classes and class consciousness in the population, and the development of materialistic standards of success.

The experience of human society has never justified the unqualified doctrine of equality. Even Christianity, which has been partly responsible for the doctrine,²⁶ recognized inequality of strength, intelligence and spiritual power. The unique quality of the Christian ideal lay in the idea of equal worth before God. The admitted inequalities brought with them correspondingly unequal responsibilities. According to the Christian theory the weak and the helpless should make their contribution to the common good, and the strong should justify their strength by protection of the weak.

The democracy of pioneer America was an approximation of primitive equality.²⁷ All rejoiced in their freedom from

²⁶ See S. G. Smith, *Democracy and the Church*, chap. I.

²⁷ But see James O'Neal, *The Workers in American History*; and A. M. Simons, *Social Forces in American History*.

old world inequalities imposed by castes of aristocracy or religion. It was in this period that some of the finest ideals and traditions of America developed.

This elemental democracy long survived the passing of the frontier stage. The successful and the prosperous lived side by side with the unsuccessful and the poor. These conditions began to break down when the advent of industrialism brought in large alien groups. The towns grew at the expense of the country-side. Democracy is difficult of achievement in the industrial community where there is not essential homogeneity. The separation of the successful and the prosperous from the unsuccessful and the poor is accompanied by the outstripping of the slow and the dull by the quick and the intelligent. With the widening of the gap between these two groups comes a dulling of the sense of fellowship and responsibility. Each group becomes pre-occupied with itself and develops a surprising ignorance of the thoughts, aspirations, and modes of life of the other. Differences of language, religion and culture intensify this separation. This lack of acquaintance easily develops into distrust and suspicion, and provides a fertile soil for the seeds of antagonism and resentment readily implanted by conflicts of interest and the exploitation incidental to the industrial process. Inevitably there develops a definite class-consciousness. Each group strives, consciously and unconsciously, for the downfall of the other. The success of the privileged group would lead to the reduction of the laboring class to servile and unresisting submission. The success of the laboring class would lead to the destruction of the leadership of the intelligent and the capable, and the control of society by the inferior. Either would make for the destruction of civilization. Thus modern industrial society carries on within itself a sinister conflict which is prejudicial to the common good and hastens the process of social disintegration.

WEALTH AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

The lines between the two great classes which develop in society as a result of the unequal distribution of wealth are not sharply drawn. There is a stratification of human beings in both groups, and between them there is still a great middle class with ideals and traditions as yet uncontaminated by the virus of antagonism and hate. In this middle class rests the hope of social redemption.²⁸ Here is found the leaven which may yet leaven the lump. But the very existence of the middle class is threatened by the rapid concentration of wealth incident to capitalism. By a steady attrition from above and below, this class is slowly being reduced in size. The rewards of commercialism greatly exceed the compensation which society accords to its professional servants. Those in the upper levels of the middle group develop standards of living beyond the means of their calling and one by one they yield to the eager bids of the commercial world for their ability and training. From the lower levels a steady stream of those who have maintained an insecure existence upon the insufficient rewards of their service, pours over into the less attractive but more substantial occupations of the wage-earners. We have already commented upon the consequences to society of the elimination of the middle class.

There is a fundamental difference between class and caste.²⁹ Caste is class grown rigid with age. The member of a caste is bound by custom and tradition to remain within his group. Caste was rapidly developing in Western Civilization before it was challenged by the growth of democracy. There are many classes in a democracy and many varieties of classes, but if society provides equality of opportunity the individual is free to pass from one class to an-

²⁸ W. G. Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*; J. Corbin, *The Return of the Middle Class*.

²⁹ See C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*.

other. The intelligent and capable may rise from class to class and steadily improve their lot. Some advocates of equality overlook the fact, however, that this also carries with it the corollary that the dull and inefficient may sink to lower and lower levels. The result is a new stratification of individuals in classes based largely upon natural qualifications. This is as it should be as long as the efficient and the successful do not overlook their obligations to the less fortunate, or the social menace arising from neglect of them.

This natural distribution of individuals in a democracy is disturbed in two ways by the unequal distribution of wealth. The free movement of individuals from class to class is interrupted. Inferior individuals are kept in a class which is in position to control society by the possession of inherited or ill-gotten wealth. On the other hand, superior individuals who should be permitted to rise from humble positions and make their contribution to social well-being are kept in positions of inferiority and obscurity by economic handicaps over which they have no control. But the natural distribution of population is disturbed in another way. It is natural for every class except, perhaps, the very lowest, to aspire to be in the class next above it. Balked aspirations of this character find compensation in making pretense of unreal prosperity and in aping the doings of the more fortunate classes. Standards, fashions, and manners, therefore, are in a measure set for each class by the class or classes above. Now the sinister thing about this situation is the fact that the highest class, which sets the standards for all classes below it, is not necessarily the highest because of any intellectual, spiritual or social superiority, but because it is economically most successful. This condition is due to the fact that the capitalistic system of the modern world establishes a material standard for success.³⁰

³⁰ T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*; and *The Theory of Business Enterprise*.

Scholars and statesmen must not overlook the social menace of this condition. Materialism is the handmaiden of individualism. With material standards of success in life held up before all classes, ideal standards which make for social solidarity must become subordinate. Institutions necessary to social well-being, which are sustained and perpetuated at the highest point of efficiency only when cultured values are fully appreciated, suffer in consequence. The finer things of life become secondary. In the mad struggle for material success, social obligations and responsibilities of a fundamental character are overlooked, the very bonds of society are loosened and disintegration is inevitable.

BREAK-DOWN OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

It is obvious then, that we have a distinct phase of the modern social problem in the changing attitude toward certain of our ideals. The depreciation of spiritual values due to the ascendancy of materialism is doing serious damage to our most fundamental institutions.

The primary purpose of government has been conceived to be the conservation of group interests.³¹ The manner of adjustment of individuals to each other and to the group involves laws and their administration. The equitable adjustment of the interests of the individual and the group involves justice. Time-honored customs and tradition surrounded these matters with a halo of sanctity in the past. The socialization of the individual was not complete did it not produce an attitude toward them of reverence bordering on awe. This process of socialization began in early childhood and continued until the individual was sufficiently mature to assume a place of responsibility in the social system. In these, as in many other matters, familiarity breeds contempt. Youthful and inquisitive democracy took apart its social machinery to see how it worked, and, having sat-

³¹ A. F. Bentley, *The Process of Government*; A. W. Small, *General Sociology*; and H. E. Barnes, *Sociology and Political Theory*.

isied its curiosity, adopted toward it an attitude of indifference. Under these circumstances, little attention was paid to the machinery of society except by those whose interests induced them to give it. With the swing of ideals in the direction of individualism and materialism, it was inevitable that the individual should look askance at any function of social machinery which seemed to hamper him in the pursuit of his interests. Conversely, the use of social machinery was invoked most frequently when the interests of individuals were jeopardized.

As a consequence of these conditions, the vast majority of the population has little interest in its social machinery and is content to be let alone in the pursuit of its personal enterprises. The making and administration of the law and the machinery of government thus fall into the hands of those persons and groups who need them for the advancement or protection of their personal interests.³² Consequently, social interests are neglected, and ensuing abuses and corruptions cause the average citizen to add to his attitude of indifference one of suspicion and mistrust. Thus the traditional attitude of respect and reverence for the machinery and institutions of society break down and democracy finds itself faced with the problem of attempting to function with defective machinery or resorting to unconsidered experiment. History has shown both courses to be fraught with peril.

Government and justice function most successfully at the point of closest contact with the people. In grappling with the routine problems of administration and justice, men still show a commendable desire to serve well and do justly. It is when social machinery becomes occupied with affairs of remote interest to the masses or of no interest at all that selfishness and privilege work more or less openly to

³² R. Michels, *Political Parties*; E. A. Ross, *Sin and Society*; G. Myers, *The History of the Supreme Court*; and R. Pound, *The Spirit of the Common Law*.

advance their cause.³³ Now the devotion and faithful service of local officials is not sufficient to sustain respect for law, government, legislation and the courts when conspicuous and sometimes spectacular corruption and misuse of vested authority go unpunished and sometimes unrebuked. The well-known facility with which malefactors of great wealth escape the penalties of the law produces contempt for law. It becomes a thing not to be obeyed on principle, but to be violated without compunction, if there is reasonable certainty that the violation may be undertaken with safety. Thus criminality passes over from the realm of the thug and the pilferer to a much more dangerous realm of semi-respectability.³⁴

Common honesty is not proof against the ever-present example of successful dishonesty. Copy-book maxims and spasmodic moral instruction of the young are not a sufficient safeguard against this sinister collapse of the forces of social control. Virtue's own rewards, which are mainly subjective, pale into insignificance in comparison with the material rewards of activity not too subservient to the dictates of conscience.

This strain upon the morals of Western Civilization comes at a most unfortunate time. For morals and their most powerful sustaining force, religion, are in a state bordering upon the chaotic. At present, organized religion retains a slender hold upon the masses of people. In the face of learning and scientific discovery, it has not yet successfully made the transition from a foundation of tradition and theology to one of knowledge and human experience. The chaos incident to this transition makes it impossible for the church to bring its full and irresistible power to bear in

³³ M. P. Follett, *The New State*.

³⁴ R. H. Smith, *Justice and the Poor*; G. Myers, *History of the Supreme Court*; B. Shaw, Introduction to S. and B. Webb, *History of English Prisons under Local Government*; and H. D. Lloyd, *Wealth Versus Commonwealth*.

support of sagging morals and their social reflection in low morale. Civilization faces the gigantic task of reorganizing and stabilizing its spiritual machinery at a time when, due to the ascendancy of individualism and materialism, cultural and social ideals occupy a secondary position.³⁵

Perhaps the most serious blow to the foundations of modern civilization is the impending collapse of the family. The rapidity with which society is abandoning the traditional form of the family confronts us with the necessity of stabilizing the institution or finding some other way of perpetuating the race and socializing the individual. While there are many reasons for the plight of the family at present, not the least of these lies in the revolt of the individual against traditional social restraints upon personal freedom. Stripped of its supports of sanctity, religion, and the desire to perpetuate the family name and prestige, the institution finds itself dependent upon romantic love and the convenient gratification of the sexual desire for its support. These are proving insufficient to stabilize the arrangement upon which society has saddled so heavy a burden of responsibility. Here again we see the difficulty of substituting artificial or rationalized arrangements for the natural conditions of primitive society which our civilization has rendered useless.³⁶

In the light of the foregoing analysis of the manifestations of the social problem, it becomes increasingly apparent that civilization is making exceedingly heavy demands upon intelligence. Furthermore, these demands are being made at a time when intelligence is not yet properly evaluated. Intelligence has come into its own in the commercial world because it makes for material success. Society has

³⁵ For a recent brief discussion of this point see A. P. Fitch, *Can the Church Survive in the Changing Order?*

³⁶ E. R. Groves, *Personality and Social Adjustment*. See the series on "New Morals for Old," in the *New York Nation*, 1924.

not yet learned to utilize intelligence fully in the solution of its political and social problems. In these very important fields, it is still endeavoring to get results by the use of outgrown and ineffective methods.³⁷

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IV

DEFINITION OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

IN the preceding chapters the Social Problem has been considered from several angles, from each of which a definition has been given. These definitions do not conflict; they are merely delineations of the same problem as seen from different view-points. It is the purpose of this chapter to bring together these definitions, apart from amplification or illustrative material, in order that the reader may proceed to the subsequent discussions with a clearer comprehension of the problem under consideration.

VARYING DEFINITIONS OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

In the first chapter, the writer advanced what he believes to be the basic reason for the collapse of all historic civilizations. This reason was an *economic* one. No civilization has yet solved the problem of adjusting its population to its material resources. In other words, as yet, *no civilization has solved the problem of how to distribute a surplus of material goods*. Failure to solve that problem resulted in the disintegration of ancient civilizations. Our own civilization is on the way to destruction by reason of that same failure. To this basic economic defect must be added the related suggestion of Dumont, Holmes and other that civilization is counter-selective in a biological sense. With the attainment of culture and a leisure class the more capable groups dodge the responsibility of child-bearing and leave this function more and more to the inferior classes. Without some eugenic principles and selective fecundity it is likely that biological factors will operate to ruin our civ-

ilization as others may have been destroyed in the past.

In the second chapter, it was pointed out that a *psychological* analysis of our own situation throws much light upon the nature of it. In that discussion it was affirmed that the modern social problem is, in a measure, *due to a conflict of ideas and ideals*. This conflict was shown to have definite results in the economic situation and in the attitude of society toward certain of its institutions. While this conflict was found to be due to historic antecedents, it has definite bearing upon our own civilization only. There is less evidence to show that this condition entered into the destruction of historic civilizations. The reason advanced for this fact was that indigenous ideals characteristic of preceding civilizations are not conflicting in their nature. The conflict in our own ideas was traced to the fact that *with the exception of the idea of liberty, our conduct determinants are inherited from remote and different civilizations*.¹

In the preceding chapter, it was pointed out that primitive society was stable as a result of an age-old process of natural selection. Civilization was shown to have broken down many of man's traditional ways of doing things and rendered others obsolete. This fact makes possible the definition of the social problem in *sociological* terms. In effect, civilization subjects human beings to constantly changing conditions with which they have not yet become familiar enough to make satisfactory adjustments. In other words, *human beings have not learned how to live together under the conditions of civilization*.² This failure leaves society at the mercy of forces inherent in the process of civilization which work almost unchecked for its disintegration. It was further pointed out that our civiliza-

¹ See Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, chap. II. See M. Beer, *Social Struggles in Antiquity*, for an account of the less severe social conflict in human history before the modern era.

² Ellwood, *op. cit.*, chap. I. See L. C. Marshall, *The Story of Human Progress*.

tion is the first to discover these forces and to undertake seriously the task of counteracting them.

Still another definition of the social problem has been hinted at. This definition has been included in the preceding discussion only by inference. There is a growing suspicion that we have overestimated the intelligence of human beings. It may be that *civilization produces problems too complicated for the limitations of human intelligence*. A semblance of truth is given to this hypothesis by the fact that men have made about as sorry a mess of their affairs when equipped with knowledge as when acting in ignorance. In fact, a recent widely read author affirms that even now most of our actions, individual and collective, are based upon misapprehension of fact.³ We refuse to concur in the opinion that the problems created by civilization are humanly unsolvable. Man has begun to equip himself with knowledge of society only recently and his knowledge is as yet greatly limited. He has been acting in social processes for ages from impulse and emotion. It cannot reasonably be expected that imperfect and unassimilated knowledge should enable him to bring his intelligence to bear effectively. We believe it is possible for man to acquaint himself with the exact nature of society. In fact, he has so far acquainted himself with it that the time is not far distant when ignorance will cease to be an insurmountable barrier to social improvement. We further believe that *no problem created by society is too difficult for human intelligence equipped with knowledge*.⁴

CIVILIZATION AND THE HUMAN ORGANISM

Before turning from this discussion, it is necessary that consideration be given to a phase of the social problem which has not been fully discussed in the preceding pages. Only

³ W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, chap. I.

⁴ J. H. Robinson, *The Humanizing of Knowledge*; and F. S. Marvin, *The Century of Hope*.

recently it has been suggested that *civilizations decay because they put too great a strain upon the human organism*. The minds and bodies of men were evolved through countless ages of adaptation to conditions of nature which were practically static. The perfection with which the finished product was adapted to its conditions and uses remains the greatest wonder of our world. When man, however, in a few centuries so completely changes his condition that the old state of nature has been replaced with one totally artificial, he finds that his mental, physical, and organic equipment remains unchanged. The time has been too short and the environmental conditions have changed too rapidly for organic and cultural evolution to have adapted him to his new situation. Certain definite complications are inevitable.

Under the artificial conditions of civilization, man finds his intelligence subjected to new strains or not used at all. His muscular system was minutely adjusted to a hunting, fishing, fighting existence with its leisure time activities of dancing and playing. The change to the herding and agricultural stages was made slowly and without difficulty. But the transition to modern industry and business is made rapidly and with difficulty. Some of man's muscles are used to exhaustion,—others become flabby from disuse. The organs of his body function improperly from lack of suitable bodily exercise or on account of unnatural postures or long continued repetition of certain motions. The digestive tract struggles to derive nourishment from wrongly balanced and improperly prepared foods. The organs of respiration are forced to inhale air robbed of part of its oxygen and laden with many different varieties of harmful gases and dust. The nervous system is taxed to keep man alert and effective in the midst of countless distractions and against exhausting fatigue.⁵

⁵ F. M. Alexander, *Man's Supreme Inheritance*; A Keith, *Man*; J. C. Goldmark, *Fatigue and Efficiency*; G. Wallas, *The Great Society*; W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*.

The results of the foregoing conditions are a series of ailments and break-downs characteristic of an industrial civilization. Against these, modern medical science is contending nobly, but with only partial success. Diseases may be cured and prevented; but that other result of wear and tear of civilization, degeneracy, has no remedy but eugenics and the removal of the conditions which cause its appearance. Contagious and infectious diseases yield to the progress of science; but organic heart disease, epilepsy, insanity, and suicide tell the story of man's uncertain fight in the new type of struggle for existence.

This phase of the social problem is, perhaps, the most difficult of solution. In primitive society, the uniform condition of all members was maintained with an amount of exertion which was not exhausting. Under the conditions of civilization, the constant struggle to enhance one's material situation knows no stopping-place. Even after the gratification of all normal physical and spiritual desires is assured, modern men redouble their efforts to pile up useless wealth or overcome adversaries of the industrial, business or professional world.

The wear and tear of civilization shows itself in two distinct forms. The wearing out of the energies of human labor for private gain is one; the struggle for and the unwise use of material gain is the other. The first is the result of insatiable greed; the second is the result of the adoption of materialistic standards of life. In either case a solution of the problem will tax human ingenuity to the limit. After a century and a half of industrial civilization it is clearly demonstrable that men can live better and longer if they are content to live more humbly. *The rewards of the terrific modern struggle for existence are not worth the price.*⁶

The things which bring great and abiding satisfaction in

⁶ F. H. Giddings, *Democracy and Empire*, chapter on "The Costs of Progress."

this world are not expensive. Friendships, service without compensation, co-operation, the sharing of joys and sorrows, are within the reach of all. Yet the prophets of modern civilization have to preach this humble gospel to a populace gone mad in the pursuit of pleasure which is thought to be great in proportion to its cost. The world must be converted to this gospel if civilization is to be saved from destruction.

CIVILIZATION AND ITS RESOURCES

Students of social phenomena have long been aware of the fact that civilization has a tendency to exhaust its most useful materials. Especially is this true under democratic conditions. The burdens of leadership in a democracy are borne by the most intelligent. As civilization progresses, it imposes an increasing burden upon its leaders. Certain compensations are rendered to these leaders for their services, among which are broadened experience, greater culture, and improved material well-being. At first glance, this seems to be highly desirable. It is only on further examination that the sinister aspects of this situation become apparent. All of the foregoing rewards involve an improved standard of living which is fraught with dire consequences after a certain point is passed. Two of these are conspicuous. First, the wear and tear of the increased struggle for existence already discussed becomes a factor. Second, after the standard of living passes a certain point, the birth-rate declines until finally we reach a point at which the stock does not reproduce itself. There is, then, a process going on whereby civilization is constantly bringing its superior elements to the top and eliminating them, thus constantly lowering the level of intelligence and leaving the task of reproduction to the inferior. It would seem that *democratic civilization tends to eliminate its superior elements and reduce its physical stock to a dead level of mediocrity at which progress ceases and civilization decays.* Bas-

ing his generalizations upon this and certain well-known phenomena of the present time, a recent writer has advanced the following rather startling proposition:⁷ Finding themselves being exploited by a civilization in whose rewards they may not and cannot participate, the unfit trend to rebel and, by taking advantage of the machinery of destruction produced by the ingenuity of the superior class, they attempt to destroy that class outright. In other words, *civilization tends to produce an inferior class which may revolt against the superior class and destroy civilization along with it.* The problem here is clearly one of encouraging the reproduction of superior elements in the population and preventing the multiplication of the obviously inferior,—a problem of staggering proportions.⁸

Summarizing briefly then, we have the following explanations of the Social Problem involving the failure of civilization:

Stated in *economic* terms, the disintegration of civilization is due to its failure to distribute equitably a surplus of material goods.

A *psychological* interpretation of the problem finds it largely due to a conflict of ideas as to the purpose of life.

A *sociological* analysis of the situation finds the problem due to the failure of human beings to learn how to live together under the conditions of civilization.

A theory of *intellectual limitation* would find the problem due to the fact that civilization produces problems too complicated for the limited intelligence of human beings.

A theory of *physical limitations* would account for the problem on the ground that civilization produces conditions which destroy its biological basis.

Lastly, we have a possible explanation in the fact that

⁷ L. Stoddard, *The Revolt Against Civilization*, chap. VI.

⁸ E. M. East, *Mankind at the Cross-Roads*; S. J. Holmes, *The Trend of the Race*; W. McDougall, *Is America Safe for Democracy?*; A. M. Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem*.

civilizations tend to exhaust their elements which make for progress. In this case, the final dissolution may be accelerated by a revolt of the inferior.

After a study of the phases of the Social Problem covered by the foregoing summary, one finds himself gravitating inevitably in the direction of one of the two following opinions regarding the nature of civilization:

CAN CIVILIZATION PROGRESS INDEFINITELY?

Civilization may be considered as a disease which afflicts different portions of humanity and ends only with the destruction of the civilization itself.

Or, civilization may be considered as a natural and progressive evolution which has invariably been interrupted in the past by factors which thwarted its development; and it is conceivable that these factors may be anticipated and counteracted, *making it possible for civilization to progress indefinitely.*

The latter consideration is the only dynamic and pragmatically useful one for the exponents of social progress.

Some students of history have seen fit to consider the process of civilization as a whole. They have found compensation for the disintegration of each separate culture in that the result appears to be cumulative,—each civilization advancing further than the last.⁹ From this point of view, the impending disintegration of our civilization should not be viewed with alarm. Further, we should find satisfaction in the fact that our culture has far outstripped all of its predecessors in many respects, notably in size and in the extent of the mastery of its surroundings. In scientific discovery and material achievement it stands supreme, although in the matter of cultural and æsthetic attainments it does not compare favorably with some historic civilizations of otherwise relatively insignificant proportions.

⁹ For a very recent example, note C. Wissler, *Man and Culture*, pp. 40, 41.

This attitude toward the civilization process infers that it may continue indefinitely, each succeeding development building on cultural foundations laid by its predecessor and mounting to higher and higher levels. The weakness of this position lies in the fact that it overlooks an important element in the process. It assumes that there will always be available hordes of vigorous barbarians ready to start the process over again and carry the torch of culture, fallen from the hands of enfeebled stocks, on to ever greater glories.

Sooner or later, such a process is bound to arrive at the stage in which, in the opinion of the writer, our civilization now finds itself. Its proportions have developed until it encompasses the earth. All living peoples are being drawn into it. It will not collapse until the creative and progressive vitality of the race has been exhausted. There are no barbarians beyond the border waiting to overrun the domains of Western Civilization when it shall have fallen into decay.¹⁰ The destruction of the foundations of this culture will mean the destruction of the foundations of the race. *There is little prospect that there will ever be another civilization.* If this one fails to pass the barriers and move on into new fields of achievement, the limits of human progress are in sight. *Western Civilization offers humanity what appears to be its last chance for continuous and progressive evolution.*

¹⁰ The spectre of the so-called "Yellow Peril" is not a case in point. The indigenous civilization of the East is thousands of years older than our own and is rapidly being absorbed by it. Japan is becoming Westernized more rapidly, perhaps, than any other nation. Among existing primitive folk as yet untouched by our restless expansion it is doubtful if there are any which give evidence of ability to carry on the march of progress from the point to which it has progressed. A possible exception may be found in the tribes of northeastern Siberia, who may yet swarm southward and westward over the ruins of Western Civilization after the manner of their ancient forbears. On the proclivities of the *Tundra* people, see C. Wissler, *Man and Culture* pp. 227-241.

If humanity is to avail itself of this chance it faces the necessity of doing certain things:

First, it must understand the nature of its problem.

Second, it must recognize the common manifestations of it in social maladjustments.

Third, it must devise means for counteracting the forces which are working toward disintegration and decay.

To the accomplishment of these aims, the remainder of this volume is dedicated as the writer's humble contribution to the common task.

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V

ACUTE MANIFESTATIONS OF SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

THIS all too hasty sketch of the plight of Western Civilization would be incomplete did we not pause for a moment to fill in a part of the gloomy background with the bolder outlines of social pathology. Lingered like some dread nemesis close to every glowing presentation of progress and achievement, is the dire spectre of poverty, vice, degeneracy and disease. Like the familiar terror of an oft recurring nightmare, it hovers about the exposition where, in artistically arranged booths, we are wont to spread the array of glittering products of material and intellectual accomplishment.

BROADER ASPECTS OF SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

Social Pathology is a much broader phenomenon than what is implied in the familiar use of the term. As a study of the problems of the dependent, defective and delinquent classes, it has come to occupy a familiar place in the curricula of the departments of sociology in our American Colleges.¹ In addition to these specialized courses, many instructors include the study of poverty, degeneracy and crime along with other familiar social problems in what are called elementary courses in sociology.² Introductory text books in sociology which include a brief treatment of these

¹ Text books long in use are C. R. Henderson, *An Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes*; S. G. Smith, *Social Pathology*, and A. Warner, *American Charities*.

² C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*; and Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, are familiar texts.

subjects are widely used, especially in smaller institutions where only one or two courses are offered in the subject. In spite of these facts, however, social pathology should include in its scope all phenomena characterized by persistent deviation from normal function or condition, whether it be in a mal-distribution of economic well being, in conduct, in physical or mental condition of the individual, or in the break-down of institutions which have long served useful social purposes like the family and the church. An extended discussion of these phenomena cannot be undertaken at this time.

RELATION OF SOCIAL PATHOLOGY TO THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

What is the relation of social pathology to the social problem? Perhaps a definite and concise answer to this question cannot be given. Certainly many of the familiar forms of social pathology are not new. Some of them, in fact, appear to be as old as civil society. To what extent, then, may they be looked upon as incidents of the social problem? In so far as the familiar forms of pathology are greatly intensified by modern conditions, and, as a result, constitute a serious menace to social well being, they may legitimately be considered as such. We shall here undertake to call attention to only a few of the more acute phases of the general problem of social pathology.

Poverty. In the preceding pages, the attention of the reader has been called repeatedly to the problem of poverty. We shall, therefore, not engage in an extended discussion of this phenomenon. The following significant facts may serve to impress the reader with the tremendous importance of the subject.

In 1891, Professor Ely estimated the number of paupers in the United States at 3,000,000.³ In his estimate he in-

³ R. T. Ely, "Paupers in the United States," *North American Review*, April, 1891, pp. 395-409.

cluded all who received charity. In 1904, Robert Hunter published his work on Poverty in which he estimated the number receiving relief at not less than 4,000,000. At the same time, he stated that a very conservative estimate would place the persons in poverty in the more important industrial states at fourteen per cent, while in reality the percentage was nearer twenty.⁴ M. Parmelee indicates that later estimates tend to confirm Hunter's figures.⁵ Among the startling points brought out by Hunter are the following:

During the year 1903, 60,463 families were evicted from their homes in the borough of Manhattan in New York City. This was about fourteen per cent of the families in the borough. At the same time, he indicated that ten per cent of all the persons who die in New York City are buried in the Potter's Field.⁶

An United States Census Report, issued in 1914 on benevolent institutions gave the number of persons in such institutions at the close of 1910 as 408,830. The total number received during the year was 5,400,556. While there was undoubtedly some duplication represented in these figures, a considerable percentage of the persons receiving institutional care must have represented poor if not pauper families, the other members of which did not receive institutional treatment. These figures do not include 84,198 inmates of almshouses on January 1, 1910. To this startling number must be added several million persons who received aid from public and private sources outside of institutions.

The factors of youthful and aged dependency cannot be overlooked. They represent facts of profound significance to society. Child dependency is a menace to the population stream at its source. Old age dependency reveals the fact that the expenditure of the productive energy of

⁴ R. Hunter, *Poverty*, chap. I.

⁵ M. Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, p. 102.

⁶ R. Hunter, *Poverty*, p. 25.

society does not provide a secure and satisfactory existence for all its members throughout its life span. The Second revised report of the Bureau of the Census on benevolent institutions, published in 1914, throws the following light on child dependency. At the close of the year 1910, there were 147,997 children under the care of 1151 institutions reported. Those in institutions numbered 108,070, the remaining 39,927 were in families and elsewhere. At the end of the same year, 32,776 children were reported by societies for the protection and care of children. Of these, 20,989 were in families, the remainder in receiving homes and elsewhere. Some of the latter may have been duplications of those reported in the care of institutions. These figures, however, do not take into account large numbers of children in hospitals, homes for adults and children, institutions for defectives, etc., which cannot be estimated. Basing his estimates upon the foregoing figures, Parmelee concludes that there must have been considerably more than 200,000 dependent children in the United States at the end of 1910.⁷

The following significant quotation is a careful estimate of the extent of old age dependency in the United States in 1912. "Approximately 1,250,000 of the people in the United States, above sixty-five years of age, are dependent upon public and private charity to the amount of about \$250,000,000, annually. Thus far one person in eighteen of our wage earners reaches the age of sixty-five in penury; and the indications are that the proportion of indigent old is increasing."⁸

Considerable attention has been given to the problem of vagrancy and the related problem of the migrant casual laborer, or the "hobo." Recent studies have tended to make apparent several divisions of a group of socially detached men who used to pass under the general designation of

⁷ M. Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, p. 284.

⁸ I. L. W. Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States*, p. 324.

tramps or bums. The following classification has merit. A "hobo" is a homeless man who travels and works. A "tramp" is a man who travels and does not work. A "bum" is a man who neither travels nor works.⁹ An estimate made in 1895 placed the number of vagrants in the United States at 85,760.¹⁰ The term "vagrant" probably referred rather loosely to the first two groups, but more recent figures lead us to believe that the number of homeless migrants was much larger than this even at that time. While some enlightening studies have been made of local situations in recent years, we have no accurate figures upon which to base an estimate of the number of homeless men in the United States. Anderson's classification of the homeless men in Chicago at the time of his study furnishes some basis for conjecture.¹¹ During the Winter of 1921-22, he estimates the numbers as follows: Bums 2500, stationary casuals (spending the entire year in Chicago), 30,000, tramps 150,000, and hoboes 300,000. The two latter groups represent men who came into Chicago, spent some time and moved on again during the course of the year. Adding these together, we get 482,500 homeless men, nearly half a million for Chicago alone. It must be remembered, however, that many of these migrants figured in the local problem of several other communities during the year. It would seem, therefore, that there cannot be less than several million altogether of bums, tramps and hobos in America if we include those casuals who occupy themselves with seasonal work in different parts of the country and "lie up" in cities during the slack season. One result of the cheap automobile and the free or nearly free auto park is the appearance of a large and growing group of migratory families who shift about over the country, working

⁹ See an interesting discussion of the problem in N. Anderson, *The Hobo*, which contains an excellent bibliography.

¹⁰ J. J. McCook, "The Tramp Problem," *Report, 22nd National Conference, Charities and Corrections*.

¹¹ N. Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 106.

here and there at seasonal occupations and leading a tramp-like existence, even though all members of the family are present.

All of the groups described above are composed of persons who have more or less definitely broken with society. Apart from their casual labor, they are a tremendous social liability. They are, for the greater part, products of the improper functioning of industry and community life. We have reason to believe that their numbers will increase as a result of industrial conditions which have been discussed. Most of them are either recipients of charity or live by petty thievery some time during the year.

Crime. When we turn our attention to the census figures on prisoners and delinquents, the facts are not less startling than those of poverty. The Census of 1910 gives the following figures for prisoners in confinement in the United States at each census since 1880:

Prisoners in confinement	January 1, 1880,	58,609
" " "	" " 1890,	67,323
" " "	" " 1904,	81,772
" " "	" " 1910,	99,199

While the different methods of compilation used in different years render it impossible to make accurate comparison, the above figures are estimates based on careful efforts to eliminate the differences. The enumeration of 1904 was the only one in which the increase in prisoners did not far exceed the proportion of increase in the population. For purposes of comparison, 12,299 prisoners who were committed to prison for non-payment of fines were excluded from the above figures for 1910. The total figures for prisoners in confinement on January 1, 1910 are 111,498.¹² To this number must be added, 24,974 juvenile delinquents in correctional institutions on that date, making a total of prisoners and delinquents of 136,472.

¹² *Bureau of the Census Report*, "Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents," 1910, p. 15.

The same census report throws an interesting light upon the situation from another angle. For every inmate on January 1, between three and four persons were admitted to correctional institutions during the year following. During 1910, 479,787 prisoners were admitted to penal institutions and 14,147 juveniles were admitted to correctional institutions, or a total of 493,934. This was a proportion of 536 commitments to each 100,000 of the population.¹³ Allowing for a certain increase in prison population during the year, and taking cognizance of the fact that many of the persons committed are enumerated two or more times, it is evident that the average period of detention is relatively brief and the public gets scant protection from its penal and correctional institutions. In addition, it must be borne in mind that these figures do not include the number of offenders in both classes who pay fines, receive suspended sentences or are put on probation. Attention must be called, also, to the fact that for a large percentage of crimes, no conviction is secured, and for an enormous number of crimes no arrests are made. The report of a special committee on law enforcement submitted to the National Bar Association at the annual meeting in Minneapolis in 1923 contained the following startling figures. In 1920 there were 9000 homicides in this country. In 1921 there were 9500, and in the last ten years more than 85,000 people have been criminally killed in America. Last year there were 7850 murders and 6780 cases of manslaughter and other unlawful killings, making a total of 14,640 unjustifiable homicides. Our volume of crimes of violence is steadily increasing. In 1921, the City of New York had 1445 robberies and Chicago 2417. In New York City, in 1922, for 2660 burglaries, there were 565 people charged and 349 convicted. Owing to an unwise use of the parole and indeterminate sentence laws, a steady stream of hardened and dangerous criminals

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

issues from our prisons. The First Annual Report of the Psychiatric Clinic at Sing Sing Prison contains the following statement. "There is no reason to believe that Sing Sing is unique in respect to the number of recidivists that it harbors (66.8 per cent of its total population). Nevertheless, it finds it mandatory to return to the general community within a period of five years 85.7 per cent of a group of prisoners, of whom 80.6 per cent are recidivists with an average record of 3.5 sentences."¹⁴

Blind and Deaf. While the blind and deaf do not constitute a very large group in proportion to the normal population, they, nevertheless, present a phase of pathology worthy of consideration in this brief survey. The Bureau of the Census enumerated 57,202 blind persons in the United States in 1910, admitting that the figures were based on very incomplete returns.¹⁵ In 1915, Parmelee estimated the number of blind in this country at nearly 100,000.¹⁶

A Bureau of the Census Bulletin, issued in 1906 placed the number of the totally deaf in the United States in 1900 at 37,426 and the partially deaf at 51,861, making a total of deaf and partially deaf of 89,287, of whom, 24,369 were dumb as well as deaf.¹⁷ Basing his estimates on these figures, Parmelee placed the number in 1915 at 117,500 deaf and partially deaf and 32,100 deaf and dumb.¹⁸

The United States Census of 1920 reported 44,885 deaf-mutes; 1,554 who had the power of speech and became dumb after eight years old; and 1,107 dumb but not deaf.

Feeble-Minded. The Census of 1910 reported the follow-

¹⁴ B. Glueck, *Nat. Com. Mental Hyg. Publication* 11, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Bureau of the Census*, 1915, "The Blind Population of the U. S.," p. 10. The Census of 1920 reports 52,567 but the reports are so confusing as to make the figures of little value for comparison.

¹⁶ M. Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, p. 295.

¹⁷ *Bureau of the Census Bulletin*, 1906, "The Blind and the Deaf," p. 69.

¹⁸ M. Parmelee, *op. cit.* p. 296.

ing figures for the feeble-minded in institutions in the United States.¹⁹

1890—15,534 1904—30,898 1910—33,969

Since there has been an enormous increase in the institutional population of the feeble-minded since 1910, these figures are of little value. Even with the present public awakening regarding the menace of the feeble-minded, the vast majority of this class still remains outside of institutions. The enumeration of 1890 gave the total number in and outside of institutions at 95,000. The report of 1904 estimated that there were 150,000 feeble-minded in the United States. Goddard estimated the number in 1912 at 300,000,²⁰ and Parmelee placed the number at 400,000 in 1915.²¹ Only recently has the full significance of feeble-mindedness come to be appreciated. The relation of feeble-mindedness to various forms of abnormal conduct is being studied with a growing appreciation of its importance as a cause.²² The conviction held by most authorities that feeble-mindedness is a unit character transmitted from parent to offspring leads to an appreciation of the importance of this defect in the production of the unfit. Since the feeble-minded are restrained by no sense of social responsibility, they are not affected by the normal checks which tend to keep the birth rate down. A glance at Goddard's charts will show the close association, in many instances, between feeble-mindedness and large numbers of children in the "family."

Insanity and Functional Disorders of the Brain and Nerv-

¹⁹ Bureau of the Census, 1910, "Insane and Feeble-Minded," pp. 12, 13.

²⁰ H. M. Goddard, *The Survey*, March 2, 1912.

²¹ M. Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, p. 61.

²² The writings of H. H. Goddard called wide attention to the subject. See his *Feeble-Mindedness; The Kalikak Family*; and *The Criminal Imbecile*; also A. F. Tredgold, *Mental Deficiency*.

ous System. Owing to differences in the methods of taking the census employed in the various decennial enumerations of the insane, the figures have to be studied from two angles. Efforts were made to enumerate the total number of insane in the country from 1850 to 1890. Figures for the insane in institutions are comparable from 1880 to 1910. The following tables are of interest.

TOTAL INSANE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850 TO 1890 ²³

<i>Year</i>	<i>Insane</i>	<i>Number per 100,000 population</i>
1850	15,610	67.3
1860	24,042	76.5
1870	37,432	97.1
1880	91,954	183.3
1890	121,028	194.0

While the census enumerations are admittedly untrustworthy, especially in the earlier years, there is indicated, along with the increasing accuracy of the enumerations, an increase in insanity out of proportion to the increase in the population. The wide discrepancy between the figures of 1870 and 1880 is, no doubt, mainly due to more accurate collection of the data. Allowing for the defects in the count, however, there still remains a probable increase of 100 per cent in insanity in proportion to the population during the forty years covered by the figures. Judging by the following figures from the enumeration of the insane in institutions from 1880 to 1910, this increase appears to have continued, although some of the increase may be attributed to more accurate statistics and more of it to the fact that there has been an increasing tendency to confine the insane in institutions in recent years. The figures are given for what they are worth.

²³ *Bureau of the Census Report*, 1910, "Insane and Feeble-Minded," pp. 12, 13.

INSANE PATIENTS IN INSTITUTIONS IN THE U. S., 1880 TO 1912.²⁴

Year	Insane in Institutions	Rate per 100,000 population
1880	40,942	81.6
1890	74,028	118.2
1904	150,151	183.6
1910	187,791	204.2
1920	232,680	220.1

A statistical Report on State Institutions, issued by the Bureau in 1916, placed the number of insane in institutions for that year at 199,340. If the figures given above are correct, whatever the actual increase in the amount of insanity, this means that almost exactly two and a half times as many insane were committed to institutions in 1910 as were committed in 1880 in proportion to the population. If we were to assume that the tendency to commit the insane to institutions had increased approximately twenty per cent during this period, it would still leave a one hundred per cent increase in insanity in proportion to the population during the thirty years.

We need not enter, at this time, into a discussion of the distinctions being made between insanity, dementia, psychoses and the neuroses. It is sufficient to note that alienists have come to recognize a distinction between a diseased condition or progressive deterioration of the brain structure, and functional disturbances of the brain and nervous organism not necessarily accompanied by a diseased or pathological condition.²⁵ It is becoming apparent that the increasing amount of functional disorders as well as a considerable part of the increase of insanity is attributable in some way not yet clearly understood to the complexity of the condi-

²⁴ Bureau of the Census Report, 1910, "Insane and Feeble-Minded," pp. 12, 13.

²⁵ For extended discussions of mental and nervous disorders see J. S. Bolton, *The Brain in Health and Disease*; E. Kraepelin, *Lectures on Clinical Psychology*; R. H. Cole, *Mental Diseases*, B. Hart, *The Psychology of Insanity*; S. Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*; C. G. Jung, *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology*; A. Adler, *The Neurotic Constitution*; E. J. Kempf, *Psychopathology*; and White and Jelliffe, *Diseases of the Nervous System*.

tions of modern life. This appears not to be due solely to strains of the newer industrial conditions, since the percentages of disturbance continue about the same for men and women.²⁶ There is some indication that there is a composite strain put on the human organism by the whole of the individual's experience under peculiarly modern conditions. This seems to be shown by the contrast in the census figures for admissions to institutions for the insane from country and city in the following table.²⁷

INSANE ADMITTED TO HOSPITALS IN 1910, PER 100,000 POP. IN EACH GROUP

Admissions from Rural Communities,.....	41.4	per 100,000
Communities from 2,500 to 10,000,.....	70.2	" "
" " 10,000 to 25,000,.....	75.6	" "
" " 25,000 to 50,000,.....	86.5	" "
" " 50,000 to 100,000,.....	77.2	" "
" " 100,000 to 500,000,.....	89.9	" "
" of 500,000 and over.....	102.8	" "

With the exception of the cities from 50,000 to 100,000 the proportion of admissions rises steadily with the increase in the size of the cities, while in the exceptional group the admissions are almost twice as high as those from rural communities. A survey of first admissions to hospitals in various states in 1919, presents a table which reveals the same condition as shown in the foregoing census figures.²⁸ While the ratio is higher in cities in all types of cases mentioned, the contrast is more striking in some than in others.

RATES OF FIRST ADMISSIONS FROM URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICTS.

Rates per 100,000 of population in same environment.

	Urban	Rural
Senile	7.2	5.5
With Cerebral Arteriosclerosis	3.3	1.4
General Paralysis	8.6	2.0
Alcoholic	2.8	0.6

²⁶ W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, pp. 324-327.

²⁷ *Bureau of the Census Report*, 1910, "Insane and Feeble-Minded," p. 49, Table 50.

²⁸ Pollock and Furbush, "Mental Diseases in Twelve States, 1919," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. V., April, 1921, No. 2, pp. 353,389.

RATES OF FIRST ADMISSIONS FROM URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICTS.
(continued)

Rates per 100,000 of population in same environment.

	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
Manic Depressive	10.5	6.8
Dementia Praecox	19.4	9.5
All Psychoses	68.2	36.0

MENTAL PATHOLOGY IN RELATION TO CONDUCT

The following facts taken from a report of the Psychiatric Clinic established at Sing Sing Prison in 1916 shows the close relation which mental pathology bears to crime, especially in its more serious manifestations.²⁹

1. Of 608 adult prisoners studied by psychiatric methods out of an unbroken series of 683 cases admitted to Sing Sing Prison within a period of nine months, 66.8 per cent were not merely prisoners, but individuals who had shown throughout life a tendency to behave in a manner at variance with the behavior of the average normal person, and this deviation from normal behavior had repeatedly manifested itself in a criminal act.

2. Of the same series of 608 cases, 59 per cent were classifiable in terms of deviations from average normal health.

3. Of the same series of cases, 28.1 per cent possessed a degree of intelligence equivalent to that of the average American child of twelve years or under; of the 98 native born defectives 80.6 per cent were recidivists, that is, had previously been convicted of crime one or more times, whose average number of sentences to penal or reformatory institutions was 3.5.

4. Of the 608 cases 18.9 per cent were constitutionally inferior or psychopathic, to so pronounced a degree as to have rendered extremely difficult, if not impossible, adaptation to the ordinary requirements of life in modern society.

5. Of the 608 cases, 12 per cent were found to be suffering from distinct mental disease or deteriorations, in a con-

²⁹ B. Glueck, "First Annual Report of the Psychiatric Clinic in Sing Sing Prison," *Nat. Com. Ment. Hyg.*, Pub. 11, pp. 1, 2; Hoag and Williams, *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law*.

siderable number of whom the mental disease was directly or indirectly responsible for the anti-social activity.

The foregoing enumeration of sinister facts could be greatly extended, but enough has been stated to indicate the gravity of the menace of the more familiar forms of social pathology. The following significant statement taken from a statistical report on state institutions in the United States, issued by the Bureau of the Census in 1919, may impress some with its economic significance who have not been impressed with the social significance of the phenomena already discussed. According to this report, the value of plants of State Institutions in the United States in 1916 was \$408,542,752.00, and the annual cost of maintenance and operation was \$81,084,990.93.³⁰

PATHOLOGY OF THE FAMILY

When we turn our attention to the less familiar phenomena of social pathology, we are considering subject matter which does not lend itself readily to statistical interpretation. In spite of this fact, there is abundant evidence of a wide deviation from normal condition or function. Perhaps the most conspicuous in this group is the phenomenon of the disintegration of the institution of the family. In one respect, the collapse of the family is revealed in a phenomenon which is readily stated in numbers. Without entering into the history of divorce, we shall cite but a few of the most significant statistics which speak for themselves. A government report on marriage and divorce issued in 1906 indicated that there was one divorce to every twelve marriages in the United States at that time. Comparing this with a recent release of the Department of Commerce we have the following facts:³¹

³⁰ "Statistical Directory of State Institutions for the Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes," *Bureau of the Census*, 1919. The figures do not include city and county jails.

³¹ Release of Oct. 1923, Marriage and Divorce for U. S. 1922.

RATIO OF DIVORCES AND MARRIAGES, 1906 TO 1922			
<i>Year</i>	<i>Divorce</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>Marriages</i>
1906	1	"	12.0
1916	1	"	9.4
1922	1	"	7.6

There were 1055 marriages and 112 divorces per 100,000 population in 1916, and 1033 marriages and 136 divorces per 100,000 population in 1922, showing a decrease in marriages and an increase in divorces. These figures indicate a growing tendency to celibacy as well as an increasing amount of divorce. Taken together with the decreasing birth rate and the enormous amount of family desertion among the lower classes of the population, they make a startling picture of the disintegration of the family, in spite of much remarriage of the divorced classes.

Although crime, in the mass, is coming more and more to be looked upon as the activity of degenerate or at least inferior individuals, we have certain phenomena which seem to indicate a growing restiveness of the individual under social restraints which interfere with individual desires. Our legislatures, state and national, not infrequently present the sorry spectacle of sectional struggles for privilege or economic advantages on the part of groups who are unwilling to concede a like benefit to other groups. Farmers advocate an income tax in the hope of shifting the burden of government to a greater extent to business and manufacture while persons engaged in the latter fight it for fear of such a result. Manufacturers, business and professional men view with alarm the growing demands of the workers for modification of the laws of private property while vast numbers of these same individuals openly and flagrantly defy the prohibition laws because they interfere with what they consider their personal rights. There appears to be an increasing unwillingness on the part of individuals to make their own desires secondary to the general welfare. In other words, there are many indications of a revolt on the

part of the individual against the restraints imposed by the social body.

THE REVOLT OF THE YOUNG

Closely related to this phenomenon and, perhaps, in part a result of it, is the revolt of the younger generation against the restraint of the elders. The most striking manifestation of this phenomenon appears in city populations. So many factors enter into the production of this situation that it is difficult to analyze it. Among the more important causes may be enumerated the break-down of family life itself, the appropriation of so large a part of the time of the young by the educational process, the development of play, recreation and amusement outside of the home, and the passing of the initiative and control in these matters largely out of the hands of parents into the control of the young themselves. As a result, many children, before they reach the end of the high school course, have developed educational and social standards widely removed from those of their parents. Parents find themselves old-fashioned in the eyes of their children while the latter are still quite young. Many of them, in consequence, are helpless when it comes to coping with the serious moral problems which accompany this condition. Hundreds of thousands of children are surrendered by their parents while still of tender years to the greatest of all wildernesses, namely, that created by the dense congestion of population itself. In this wilderness, with slight interference from adults, except that of the police, truant and probation officers, they yield themselves to their own instincts which are not as yet controlled by the moral or social impulses which are late to develop.

SUPPRESSED INSTINCTS AND ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR

Of recent years, certain students of social phenomena have been giving considerable attention to a phase of the

problem which, while difficult to identify as a cause of particular manifestations of pathology, nevertheless, throws considerable light upon broader phases of pathology itself.³² We have reference to the so-called suppression or baffling of instincts in the exceedingly complicated and artificial conditions of modern social life.³³ Stated briefly, the thesis is somewhat as follows:

The normal human being comes into existence, not only with a certain physical and mental equipment which he receives from his ancestors in the germ plasm, but also certain tendencies or dispositions which are innate, which predispose him to certain forms of activity which are called instinctive. There is disagreement among authorities as to the number and character of these tendencies or instincts, some contending that there are many while others hold that certain of these are subdivisions of more fundamental instincts or blendings of such. These instincts or innate tendencies to act in certain ways became a part of the equipment of the individual's inheritance during hundreds of thousands of years of the development of the race. They equipped him to survive under the natural conditions of his environment which were little changed throughout the whole

³² An interesting effort to identify instincts with the causes of specific industrial disturbances appeared recently in O. Tead, *Instincts in Industry*. See also, T. Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship*.

³³ The classification or grouping of instincts which follows is taken from O. Tead, *Instincts in Industry*, chap. I, and is based upon the following authors: W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. II, chap. XXIV; W. McDougall, *Social Psychology*; M. Parmelee, *The Science of Human Behavior*; G. Wallas, *The Great Society*, chap. I-X; W. Trotter, *The Instinct of the Herd in Peace and War*; T. Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship*; Intro.; E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, Vol. I; W. C. Mitchell, "Human Behavior and Economics," *Quarterly Jour. Econ.* Nov. '15; C. G. Jung, *Theory of Psychoanalysis*; and I. I. Metchnikoff, *The Nature of Man*. See also, W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, Part V; C. Parker, *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays*, chap. IV; and A. G. Tansley, *The New Psychology*. The whole problem of "instincts" is now the subject of warm controversy between psychologists. See S. Eldridge, *Political Action*; and the forthcoming work of L. L. Bernard.

of human history except when they were supplanted by the artificial conditions of highly developed civilization. In other words, we have a human body with its physical, mental and instinctive equipment designed for the wild natural existence of primitive man, forced into the artificial conditions of a highly industrialized civilization.³⁴

So much for the statement of the case. The corollary of the foregoing thesis may be stated something as follows:

Many of the situations in which the individual finds himself under modern conditions do not afford exercise for the various forms of his natural equipment. Improper exercise of the muscular equipment may lead to atrophy and disease. Improper use or lack of use of the mental and nervous equipment may lead to mental diseases and the so-called functional disturbances. Failure on the part of modern life to afford a normal outlet for the instinctive tendencies of man may produce abnormal conditions through the baffling or suppression of those instincts and induce abnormal behavior through the effort to compensate for suppressed instincts through unnatural and disguised outlets.³⁵

Assuming for the time being that this is a satisfactory statement of the case for the instincts, one can readily see the difficulties which arise when masses of individuals are compelled to spend their lives under conditions in which these instincts fail, for the greater part, to find a natural outlet. The resulting internal conditions of the individual, combined with the numerous external causes of irritation may, when better understood, furnish us with a clear explanation of many social phenomena which we now speak of as pathological as well as certain conditions in the social body which we speak of as social unrest. Failing this insight hitherto, society in its efforts to suppress or correct certain objectionable forms of behavior has not infrequently tended to increase the difficulty. If the psychologists are right

³⁴ See W. J. Fielding, *The Cave-man within Us*.

³⁵ See Frink, *Morbid Fears and Compulsions*.

in their main contention, the function of social control should be to furnish an outlet for instinctive tendencies rather than to suppress them, thereby adding to the repressions which are already too numerous. Not the least of our modern social problems is the distressing ignorance of this knowledge on the part of those in command of the machinery of social control, and the remoteness of the prospect of their becoming possessed of it or surrendering the control of society to the hands of those who are in position to do the job intelligently.

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VI

REMOTE AND IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

IF sociology has taught us anything, it is that social phenomena are rarely, if ever, accidental. The law of cause and effect works as certainly in human affairs as it does in other realms. The difference between human and other phenomena lies in the fact that the relation between cause and effect is often more obscure in the affairs of men.

CONFUSION OF REAL AND APPARENT CAUSES

This obscurity has been responsible for most of the irrational efforts which men have made toward the solution of social problems. It must be conceded also that many of those efforts have been characterized by common and, in some cases, uncommon stupidity. Reasons for this condition are obvious. Many of our social problems have dawned upon our consciousness suddenly. In the startling newness of their discovery, they have seemed to cry out for immediate solution. Yielding to this pressure for immediate action, reformers have attempted to solve their problems without having taken the precaution of learning their nature. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that a majority of their efforts have been fruitless. Their failures have caused them to be looked upon with suspicion; the scornful epithet of "social uplifters" has not been applied wholly without cause.

Modern sociology, however, is rapidly passing out of the irrational stage. It still suffers, as does its sister-science,

psychology, at the hands of emotional friends who secure a great deal of publicity; but they are increasingly outnumbered by less conspicuous but more effective students. From the first there have been thoughtful persons who applied intelligence to their tasks. In spite of spectacular experiments and conspicuous failures, a formidable fund of knowledge has accumulated which is rapidly placing applied social science among the professions with a technique and training comparable to law or medicine. Applied sociology has been discredited to the extent that it has failed to understand the relation between cause and effect. It succeeds when it understands that relation and intelligently sets about the task of removing evils by removing or adjusting their causes.

If one approaches the problem of causes by inquiring into the immediate background of social conditions, one is impressed with the hopelessness of distinguishing between a maze of interacting forces in which cause and effect appear inextricably confused. It is only by approaching the task from a historic standpoint that we are able to bring order out of this confusion. A tree when viewed from above, appears to be a tangled mass. When it is observed from beneath, the eye follows from trunk to limb, from limb to branch, from branch to twig and stem, from stem to leaf, flower or fruit.

Many causes may contribute to a single effect, just as a single cause may appear to produce different results. Effects may become causes and interact upon each other. It is due to a confusion on this point that many attacks upon what appeared to be causes of social problems have produced unsatisfactory results. The ability to distinguish between real and apparent causes is indispensable to successful action. Causes may act in sequence and stand in relation to given effects as immediate causes and remote causes.

A few great outstanding events have a profound influence upon social conditions, and set in operation social forces which operate over long periods of time. These forces sub-

sequently produce other conditions which stand in relation of immediate causes to the problems of any given period.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL FORCES

A social force is one generated by society itself, which reacts upon society and becomes a determining factor along with other forces not so generated. In reacting to external forces, which do not change, or change so slowly that the variation is scarcely perceptible, society tends to adapt itself to its environmental conditions and becomes static. It is under the influence of self-generated forces, on the other hand, that societies progress. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that social forces always produce progress. A social force is not always a socializing force; it may be disintegrating.

It is of vital importance to a society whether its problems are due to social or physical forces. Climatic changes which eliminate moisture from the atmosphere, the rising of land surfaces inducing aridity, or the approach of a glacial epoch are crises in the face of which societies are helpless. They may adapt themselves and survive for a time but ultimate extinction is inevitable if the adverse forces prevail. If, on the other hand, a social factor is demoralizing in its influence, it may be counteracted, if the society is intelligent enough to discover the nature of the menace. In other words, problems due to social forces rather than physical, are solvable, if treated before they have produced permanent physical results. The exhaustion of fertility of the soil, the consumption of the entire fuel supply, or the permanent deterioration of the germ plasm of homo sapiens are conceivable physical results of unchecked social forces. These could not be remedied.

Western civilization has ground for hope in the fact that the forces which threaten its destruction are not physical in their nature but are, as yet, social and largely remediable.

ANALYSIS OF REMOTE CAUSES

In attempting an analysis of the remote causes of modern social problems, we find ourselves, in a volume of this character, compelled to confine our attention to a few outstanding phenomena. Even a brief consideration of these historic events will suffice to show their causal relation to present conditions. In selecting the time and the events, it is not intended to exclude antecedent phenomena of far-reaching consequences. We have chosen three great, outstanding occurrences which, taken together, are in the main responsible for the condition of society at present. These were the discovery of new knowledge about man and his world; the discovery of new worlds; and the industrial revolution.

In order to appreciate the profound changes which were to occur in the affairs and conditions of men as the result of these events, one must have a mental picture of things as they were before their occurrence. Only a partial description can be undertaken here.

For a thousand years in western civilization, the prevailing ideas about the world and man were those furnished by Christian theology.¹ So thoroughly was the work of the missionaries done, that traditional ideas of man and the world, indigenous in Europe, were supplanted or profoundly colored by Old Testament explanations, which, under the manipulation of the churchmen, were broadened from the naïve cosmogony of the Hebrews to a minute and comprehensive explanation of all things celestial and terrestrial. These we shall have to summarize briefly.²

The world and all things in it were made in six days.³ This feat was accomplished by God who, prior to this time,

¹ J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, pp. 123 ff.

² For an exhaustive treatment of the material here touched upon, see A. D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*.

³ The following brief summary comprises what Santayana calls the Christian Epic. See his *Life of Reason: Reason in Religion*, chap. VI.

had existed eternally in a boundless void. The process of creation was complete, the finished product as well as the materials out of which they were made being created out of nothing. The event was so recent that a complete chronology was in the possession of men. In the seventeenth century, it was asserted as a fact beyond dispute, that the work of creation occurred on Friday, October 23, 4004 B. C. at nine o'clock in the morning.⁴ The earth was flat and surrounded by seas. Over it arched the firmament of the heavens, beyond which were pent-up waters. The under side of this firmament was used by the deity for the location of the sun and the moon for illumination and the stars for signs and revelations.

The world was made for the habitation of man; woman was made for a companion and a helper; and all other things had specific purposes with relation to them. The original concept of the creation was that the deity might have companionship and someone to worship him, but a later theology deduced a much more involved purpose. This added to the original concepts of companionship and worship the opportunity to demonstrate the deity's qualities of mercy and justice. In order that the latter qualities might be conclusively shown, the world as created was to have a relatively short existence. Since all men were created vile and incapable of saving themselves, a few were to be selected as an exhibition of mercy, and the remainder were to be either destroyed with the rest of creation or punished eternally to show the deity's justice. The earth, then, was a testing ground, created for a temporary purpose, and the all-important state was the future existence of endless bliss which the elect were to enjoy with God.

All attempts, therefore, at explaining natural phenomena were in the nature of fitting them into this divine scheme of things. Signs, wonders, miracles, portents, were on every

⁴ Dr. John Lightfoot, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. See A. D. White, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 9.

hand. Mingled with this theology was a robust demonology and a belief in the efficacy of magic. The masses of the people were steeped in dense ignorance from which the so-called learned were but little removed. The revival of learning reached a few out of the many, and made slow headway for centuries against the dogmas of the church.⁵

The peoples of the earth consisted of the Christian nations who occupied Europe, and the infidels and heathen who occupied North Africa and Western Asia. These latter were to have the opportunity of accepting the Christian dispensation, after which the world was to be destroyed.

The people occupied themselves with simple agriculture and husbandry of animals. Their whole social life was dominated by religion and centered around the great vital events of births, marriages and deaths. Fêtes, festivals, and religious fairs or markets divided the year into periods. A large part of the energy of the people was consumed in religious wars and in support of the growing weight of the church and the religious orders.

Manufacture was still executed by the simplest of hand processes and was local with the exception of a very few manufacturing and trading towns. The great mass of the people lived and died without ever having been beyond the horizon of their native village. In broad sections of Europe centuries passed without the monotony of existence being broken by events sufficiently striking to be recorded, even if there were anybody capable of recording them. The processes of thought were crude and revolved around a few central ideas furnished mainly by religion.

This millennial stagnation was eventually to be disturbed, and the fixed ideas and conditions disrupted by the series of events which we are about to discuss. These events developed by a slow process, but they were destined to bring about a revolution in human thinking and action so pro-

⁵ L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*.

found and complete that by our own time scarcely an individual remains undisturbed by them.⁶ The small theological world described above was to be utterly destroyed, and in the place of it, the present vast and complex universe was to thrust itself, by slow stages, into the consciousness of a bewildered and unwilling humanity.⁷ The old, and relatively simple ideas of religion were forced to adjust the concepts of God and man to this expanding world, a process accomplished imperfectly and in spite of much hostility and resistance. Industry and social life were to be completely transformed. As a result, the old fixed order was to give place slowly to a condition bordering on chaos in practically all the affairs of men. In some departments, order is slowly emerging from this chaos, in others the process of disruption is still going on. Under these conditions, time-honored and immensely important institutions suffer, and social machinery functions imperfectly.

EFFECTS OF NEW KNOWLEDGE

The new knowledge which was to break in on the millennial serenity of the middle ages and early modern times may be traced back to Greece and beyond.⁸ Our discussion begins with the point at which certain of the newer ideas about the world began to make a ripple in the placid pool of theological obscurantism.⁹ The human mind had long been preparing to grasp the idea of the rotundity of the earth. The next colossal event was to be the discovery of the planetary system. The work of destroying man's old world was begun. With it was to go most of the theology which it had called into being. The discovery of the laws of gravitation re-

⁶ J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, pp. 158-167.

⁷ P. Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*; D. Stimson, *The Gradual Acceptance of the Copernican Theory of the Universe*.

⁸ F. S. Marvin, *The Living Past*, chaps. II-IV; and *Science and Civilization*.

⁹ J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, pp. 151-158; Marvin and Stalwell, *The Making of the Western European Mind*.

vealed a natural order and prepared for the downfall of the idea of God manipulating the machine from without. The final crushing blow which was to destroy utterly the theological explanation of the world, was the discovery of evolution.¹⁰ Supplemented by the progress of geology and biology, it was to push the beginnings of life into a past so remote as to make the fifty-six hundred years of Dr. Lightfoot's chronology seem as yesterday.¹¹

DISCOVERY OF NEW WORLDS

The western course of empire has never turned back upon itself successfully. Western Civilization probably would have worn itself out in Europe ere this had it not been for the discovery of the American continents, Australia and the sea route to South Africa and the Far East. It was inevitable, with the growing idea of the rotundity of the earth, that someone should attempt to sail around it. This adventure was destined to reveal the true earth to man and remove it from the realm of speculation and controversy. This adventure was destined, also, to postpone for centuries the culmination of the process of civilization. When the pressure of exploitation of the masses in one form or another began to be unbearable, the pent-up populations escaped and began flowing into new parts of the earth in what was to prove the greatest migratory movement in all history.

The earliest attitude of European states toward the newly discovered lands was political, religious and economic.¹² Monarchs and churchmen rejoiced in the opportunity to carry the Gospel to the benighted inhabitants of strange

¹⁰ F. S. Marvin, *The Century of Hope*.

¹¹ J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, pp. 83, 84; H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History*, Vol I.

¹² C. J. H. Hayes, *The Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I; E. P. Cheyney, *The European Background of American History*; J. E. Gillespie, *The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England*; J. B. Botsford, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*; A. G. Keller, *Colonization*.

lands. There was present, also, the idea of enrichment of the mother states by trade which was to be made profitable and secure by colonial expansion. The waves of migration which followed the hardy pioneers were destined to be vastly outnumbered by the later emigrants, who inherited the results of their labors. This phenomenon of migration has rendered the population of Europe and America a seething, shifting mass and is directly responsible for many of the vexing conditions of to-day.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

To understand the nature and consequences of the Industrial Revolution, one must have a mental picture of the industrial conditions and social life of Western Europe before the revolution occurred.¹³

For three hundred years, a gradual change had been taking place in the relation between men and their means of subsistence. The old serfdom gradually disappeared; the manorial system broke down; the craft and merchant guilds flourished and dissolved; the old agricultural character of western European states was profoundly modified by the enclosure of lands which drove masses of the people into industry. The development of the domestic system of manufacture and the tremendous stimulus of trade due to mercantilism and colonial expansion brought about a condition of great activity which, in the main, induced a general prosperity. Great fortunes were in process of being built up but social life was relatively secure, frugal, industrious and contented.

Manufacture was not yet concentrated in the towns, but was rather a village phenomenon. The plants were house-

¹³ F. A. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, chaps. I-III. C. J. H. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Part 6, chaps. VIII, IX. J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, chap. XVIII. Also, C. A. Beard, *The Industrial Revolution*, entire.

hold affairs. Each family owned a little plot of ground on which was the combined house and shop and out-buildings for domestic animals. The part of the plot not occupied with buildings was cultivated outside of work hours and furnished a considerable part of the food supply. In the shop the craftsman worked with his sons and sometimes with apprentices. These looked forward to some day having a shop of their own. All of the members of the family shared in the manufacture,—some occupations making possible the participation of quite small children. This was particularly true of the spinning and weaving industries in England. On account of the domestic nature of this industry, it lacked many of the bad characteristics of the modern factory system.

One of the valuable features of the domestic system was the social life which it made possible. The village group was large enough to furnish amusement and entertainment sufficient to make life pleasant. The nearness to the soil permitted the retention of many of the elements of rural life and made the workman and his family only partially dependent upon industrial labor for their existence. There was little outstanding poverty and no conspicuous wealth within the villages. The whole was dominated by the village church which occupied a central position and served to link up the present with the traditions of the past.

During the eighteenth century, two great events occurred which were destined to overthrow this industrial system and its accompanying social conditions and usher in a new era. These were the invention of machines for doing the work of hands and the application to them of artificial power. It is possible to choose many points for separating the present from the past. Of these, perhaps the most outstanding is that at which the steam engine was invented and was applied to manufacture.

Up to this time the workman had been owner of his tools. Until the development of the domestic system he had usually

a proprietary interest in the finished product. The introduction of machinery and steam power involved the investment of large sums of money. The machinery was expensive. The collection of many machines to be driven by a single power unit required a somewhat extensive plant,—in fact, the progenitor of the modern factory. The persons going into the new ventures, therefore, were those in command of considerable fortunes.

The introduction of the factory system in a few industries almost immediately produced results of a striking character.¹⁴ The factories were able to turn out goods rapidly and much more cheaply than the old handicraft methods. In those industries the domestic system soon broke down. The small producers were ruined and forced to enter the factories as wage earners to tend the machines. In the spinning and weaving industries, the character of the manual labor which was necessary to supplement the machines was such that deftness and agility were more in demand than strength. From the very beginning, therefore, they profitably employed the cheaper labor of women and children. This character clung to those industries, and to this day they present the most determined resistance to reforms looking to the protection of women and children in industry. The men, therefore, in order to subsist, found themselves forced to compete with their women and children in the labor market, and at the same wages.

Limited space forbids an extended discussion of this subject, and the familiarity of the reader with subsequent events makes such discussion unnecessary. The literature of this subject is exhaustive and generally accessible.

The sinking of workers into the wage system was accompanied with many hazards, in particular the lack of security. Even in slavery and serfdom, the laborer had little occasion to worry about his future. His owner or master looked

¹⁴ C. D. Wright, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*; J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Town Labourer*.

after him in old age. In the development of the guild and craft system, the worker owned his home, tools and product. He had the further protection of his guild or craft associations. Under the domestic system, the worker owned his home and plot of ground as well as his shop and tools. The modern wage earner, however, is dispossessed of everything but his ability to work. He is, therefore, at the mercy of his employer. If the employer has no use for his labor, he has no recourse but starvation or charity.

This insecurity was demonstrated almost immediately by the newly inaugurated factory system. The ability of the factories to turn out goods rapidly and cheaply soon glutted the market and the mills closed down, throwing the workers out of employment. In the background of every wage earner's mind is the dread of unemployment. To be able and willing to work and be deprived of the opportunity is a misfortune; to have dependents under these circumstances is a calamity. As Whiting Williams and Tannenbaum have made clear, insecurity and fear of unemployment, more than anything else, offer the key to the psychology of the working classes and their organization and activity.

A change of far-reaching importance occurred in the distribution of the population. Just as the preceding industrial period had developed the villages, the factory system gathered the working population into the larger towns and the village life suffered. The lot of the worker was much worse for this change. From an owner of land and home he became a tenant. The wholesome social life in the village gave place to the wretched industrial slums. The single house, surrounded by its garden and lot, was supplanted by the tenement with its swarming crowds of overworked tenants. In place of the old security of existence was ever-present poverty and the threat of the work-house. The long hours, low wages, and bad living conditions produced inevitably poor health, lowered vitality, and degeneracy. The lack of opportunity for recreation and proper

social intercourse resulted in the inevitable accompaniments of sordid poverty,—vice, drunkenness and crime.

The industrial revolution developed first and made most rapid progress in England.¹⁵ By the end of the eighteenth century the transformation was well under way. The movement was slower on the continent and did not begin to assume significant proportions until the latter half of the nineteenth century when it made rapid progress. In New England, the factory system dates back to the beginning of the century. Until 1850, the industrial development of the United States was mainly in the states along the Atlantic coast, the development of the rest of the country being mostly agricultural. Although the industrial revolution began in America early in the nineteenth century, there were several factors which delayed its progress. One important reason for the delay was the vast stretch of free land in the west, to which individuals could go for a new start whenever their economic situation became unfavorable in the east.¹⁶ On account of this condition the wages and standards of living of American workers soon became the highest in the industrial world. This made it difficult for American goods to compete in foreign markets. Capital was forced, therefore, to content itself very largely with the manufacture of goods for home consumption. It was able to profit in home markets even with a high cost of production, on account of a system of protective tariffs which it secured from admiring and often interested legislators. American capital also had the advantage of a rapidly increasing population.

Efforts were made by promoters of industry to free themselves in two ways from the limitations on profits, which resulted from being confined mainly to home markets. Profits could be increased by keeping down the costs of production and by raising the price to the consumer. Capital sought to accomplish the first of these by a determined fight

¹⁵ G. Slater, *The Making of Modern England*.

¹⁶ F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*.

to keep down the wages of labor and, by encouraging immigration, to secure a cheap labor supply from Europe. The effort to exploit American workers met with stubborn resistance from organized labor which has been able in part to hold its share of the returns of the industrial process even though it has not been able to increase them. The effort of capital to secure a cheap labor force by encouraging immigration met with greater success until very recently when the problems of immigration began attracting attention, and practices designed to stimulate immigration were forbidden by law.

The effort to increase the price of commodities to the consumer was revealed in the early attempts to secure a monopoly in various fields of production. This tendency was viewed with alarm and efforts were made to prevent monopoly by law. Nevertheless, monopoly in effect has steadily increased so that the process of concentration has been tremendously accelerated.

A second important reason why the logical culmination of the industrial revolution has been postponed in America lies in the rapidity and ease with which natural resources may be transformed into wealth. The resourceful and the capable have been able to break away repeatedly from baffling financial situations, and in new communities and new lines of industry speedily and independently carve their way to fortune. This rapid accumulation of wealth outside of the great industrial corporations produced a competition between capitalists which was favorable to labor and to consumer. Another result was a more uniform distribution of well-being than was enjoyed by any other great people.

Still another reason why the industrial revolution is not further advanced in this country is found in the fact that the diversity of opportunities and resources has left many fields of production outside the field of economic exploitation. Capital has been busily engaged in those fields which offered the greatest opportunities for profit. In these fields ac-

cumulated profits are invested over and over again. Under these circumstances, other and less lucrative fields of industry remain unmonopolized until the more attractive fields reach the point of saturation,—i. e. the point at which additional capital cannot be profitably invested. When this occurs, accumulating profits must find other fields for investment. The monopoly begins reaching out in subsidiary and related lines and the relentless absorption of unexploited fields progresses. One by one the remaining fields of independent and individual endeavor are invaded and the process repeats itself. The capitalization of the field and the forcing of the erstwhile independent producers into the machine system result.¹⁷

Let us now return to the central theme of this chapter. We have sketched three epoch-making events in the history of our civilization which were destined to bring about profound and complete changes in the affairs and conditions of men. Ever in the presence of new and trying situations, men have longed for the serene olden days before the problems arose. Not a few have suggested the forcible establishment of the former conditions as a cure for the ills of the present. Needless to say, such hopes are futile. Progress does not reverse itself. Escape lies in solving problems, not in fleeing from them. The apparently serene conditions of human life which preceded the three great disturbing events described above are forever destroyed along with the economic conditions, the ignorance, and the illusions which produced them.

THE CRISIS ELEMENT IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

History is an account of crises.¹⁸ The long and uneventful periods when everything worked smoothly are passed over in a paragraph. The striking events of a few days or

¹⁷ T. Veblen, *Absentee Ownership in America*.

¹⁸ F. H. Giddings, "A Theory of History," in *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1920.

years make up the chapters of the narrative. Progress seems not to be a steady advance but a series of leaps and bounds, although it is doubtful if progress is really as spasmodic as it appears from a distance. While the crust of custom is forming, the forces are generating which shall burst it.

It also seems that, as civilization advances, these periods of germination grow shorter, the periods of bursting and heaving more frequent and violent, but it is questionable whether this is true, or only seeming, for we are historically near-sighted. Certain important sociological considerations must be kept in mind, however. Periods of transition are periods of chaos for society, but it must be borne in mind that in some aspects, all periods are periods of transition. The machinery and institutions of men work most effectively when conditions are relatively stable or progress is slow enough to permit a necessary amount of adaptation to new conditions; but progress never gives her weary warriors a satisfactory chance to conserve their gains.

Western Civilization has outstripped all its predecessors, principally because our resources and our energy have enabled us to resist the forces of decay. We have survived beyond the point at which our nearest competitor succumbed. The question is how much farther we can go.

We like to believe that our present chaos is merely a prolonged period of upheaval,—that Western Civilization will emerge upon a new high level and stabilize itself. It is to this end that modern social engineers work. There may be ground for encouragement in conceiving of our vexing time as a period of transition. Our energies must be bent toward the readjustment of our badly damaged institutions, else new gains of progress cannot be held. The forces of disintegration must be checked lest we should emerge from the wilderness in sight of the promised land without the energy and the vitality necessary to enter in and possess it.

We have called attention to the fact that our civilization

has progressed beyond the point of farthest advance of our nearest competitor. If our culture is to survive and pass to still higher levels, it will enter a realm of human experience not yet explored. The industrial age cannot be a permanent age. Either it will destroy us, or we shall outgrow it.

Modern social problems, then, are to be thought of as the inevitable results of certain great historic events. They are not accidental, but entirely natural. Their remote causes have been described as the discovery of new knowledge regarding man and his world; the discovery of new worlds with the consequent releasing of pent-up peoples for the greatest of all migrations; and the Industrial Revolution. These three events are shown to have completely destroyed not only man's age-old concepts of the universe, but also to have revolutionized his methods of sustaining himself and society and placed him in an entirely new and critical situation with regard to existence. They have also completely destroyed his old religious and intellectual habits and as yet they have given him nothing definite to take their place. The result is apparent chaos and uncertainty in all the realms of human experience. Man finds himself confronted with the problem of keeping society going until he can make adjustments, and repair or scrap his worn-out social machinery.

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VII

SOCIAL CHANGE AND MALADJUSTMENT

SOCIAL progress is impossible without social problems. A society without problems is a stationary society. It is when manners, customs and institutions are forced to adapt themselves to change that problems arise. In our case, the change has been so rapid and so overwhelming that our problems seem almost unsolvable. A study of the changes which occur as a result of the social forces generated in the past, may throw some light upon our difficulties.

We have seen how a process of change was inaugurated by three historic events,—a process which was to continue until the old world order was completely overthrown. The force of the new learning was irresistible. Once discovered, the new lands made the migratory movement inevitable. Once created, machinery and artificial power made the destruction of the old economic order unavoidable. The interpreter of modern social phenomena, therefore, has to deal with great social forces which can be traced back to these sources.

In the preceding chapter, we saw something of the extent of the revolution which occurred in the affairs of men. We shall now attempt to familiarize ourselves with the nature of the forces which underlay that revolution. Since the revolution is still in progress, we shall attempt to analyze the manner in which those forces operate at present. There is a distinction between revolution and growth. Growth is a natural phenomenon in which all parts of the social organism expand and develop together without disturbance of function. Revolution is change so rapid that some parts of the social machinery break down and others function im-

properly. It necessitates adaptations so profound that attempts are only partially successful. The consequences are that social machinery which is not put out of commission functions inadequately, and produces results which fall short of social requirements.

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL FRICTION

The forces generated by the discovery of new knowledge and new worlds and by the application of power to machinery produced what was in effect a revolution in human affairs because the resulting movements or changes were so rapid that men could not adapt themselves perfectly.¹ The result is more or less chaos and confusion. We have already studied the social consequences of chaos. It may be profitable to carry our analysis further and study the effects of rapid change in the affairs of individuals, for, after all, social problems appear in the field of vision only as they affect individuals. There is no poverty apart from poor people or labor problems apart from laborers. Cultural and intellectual problems have their basis in the disturbed minds and lives of men and women. Social problems, therefore, attract attention as the forces which produce them affect persons and disturb the even tenor of their lives.

For a clearer understanding of the manner in which social forces affect individuals we shall continue for a moment the analysis of changes and their consequences. Undesirable as a static society may appear to a believer in progress, it is, nevertheless, a state which puts the least strain upon the individual. Adapting himself to his fixed conditions in early life, he finds himself secure and undisturbed for the rest of his days. Life is dominated to a high degree by the mores, and each person unconsciously accepts the limitations upon his freedom of action. He fits into the social whole, and little or no friction occurs. What little there is arises from

¹ T. Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship*; and *The Vested Interests and the State of the Industrial Arts*; G. Wallas, *The Great Society*.

differences of strength, character, personality and intelligence between individuals. Different types of persons however find their levels and remain in them. The poor continue to be poor, the intelligent and capable assume and hold a measure of social advantage and responsibility. The turbulent and restless are eliminated. Under such conditions, men develop a sense of peace and security. The existing order of things becomes the natural order, the fixed order, the divine order, and change,—unwelcome because it necessitates an effort at adaptation, is regarded with abhorrence. Things which make for change, then, come under the ban as unorthodox, and meet with the resistance of social machinery designed to preserve the *status quo*. Thus does a relatively stationary society hedge itself around with safeguards and seek to prevent change as it would a pestilence.² Unconsciously it has produced a situation in which change, when it comes, will produce the greatest possible havoc, since it now must disturb not only one, but several departments of human interest. For instance, the established method of tilling the soil is considered ordained or God-given. An innovation, be it ever so beneficial, is a challenge of the divine order and the innovator is in league with the powers of evil. Cain's offering of the fruits of the field was not acceptable to Yahweh because he was a god of flocks and herds. Abel's offering was acceptable for this reason.

The individuals composing a society will generally be found to be distributed roughly into three groups. The first group is composed of superior individuals who, by reason of intelligence and vitality, are easily masters of their situations and are able to derive a considerable amount of satisfaction from existence. They occupy positions of influence and authority, and do most of the creative work of the society. In a second and larger group will be found all who are maintaining themselves and occupy a social position of relative security, but are not so fortunate as the

² W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*.

first. They have no considerable reserve of ability or energy left over from the struggle for existence. They participate very slightly in the creative activities of the society, receiving their ideas and leadership from the group above. The third group is composed of those persons who are maintaining themselves with extreme difficulty. Some of them are unsuccessful in the struggle for existence and have to be helped occasionally, or partly supported by others all of the time. These are the inefficient and the poor; poverty is their normal condition, however, taken for granted and therefore not attracting much attention. They are "God's poor," whom you have with you always, and not to be confused with the poor of economic maladjustment.

This rough grouping holds true, no matter from what angle the social group is viewed. The individual distribution, however, may not be the same from the various angles. The above description of the groups suggests an economic distribution. It is true also, when considered from the standpoint of intelligence and spiritual strength and moral character. Take for example the intellectual grouping. In the first, we have those of exceptional intelligence, whose superiority makes the struggle for existence a minor consideration. This group does most of the thinking for the whole society. The second group has sufficient intelligence for its needs, but depends upon the superior group in emergencies and for most of its new ideas and especially for intellectual leadership.³ Members of this group think little and do not much weigh the judgments and opinions furnished them from above. In the third group, we find those whose intelligence is scarcely sufficient for their daily needs, for whom the ordinary emergencies are crises in which they have to depend upon the more intelligent for guidance and help.

³ This group restrains much of the creative thinking of the former group; see Robinson, *Mind in the Making*; W. Trotter, *The Instinct of the Herd in Peace and War* (Ed. of 1919).

From the standpoint of psychic strength and moral character, it is obvious that the same grouping holds true. In the superior group are those who rise above emergencies and temptations which try the souls of lesser strength and furnish the intellectual and moral leadership for the entire society. In the second are all those who have force of character enough to follow safely the mental and moral leadership of the superior group. In the lower group are those whose moral and spiritual resources are scarcely sufficient for their daily needs. As a consequence, they more or less frequently "fall from grace" and have to be sustained by their fellows. If the moral dereliction is too serious they are ostracized by their associates and sometimes punished.

Proceeding to the second step in our analysis we shall note what happens when some great social force invades the group and begins to disrupt the age-old habits of thought and action. The results are the same in whatever field the change occurs. Individuals in all the groups are forced to make adaptations more or less important. They do so with varying degrees of success. Let us take, for purposes of illustration, some profound change affecting large numbers of persons, such as migration. What happens to individuals in the various groups in this case? The superior group makes the transition from the old to the new conditions with ease, and readily masters its new environment. The second group makes the transition with difficulty and has a more slender hold upon independence under the new conditions. The third group never succeeds in getting a secure footing under the new conditions and constitutes an acute problem for the rest of society. Shaken out of the measure of social security they enjoyed in their old environment, they never succeed in establishing themselves in the new.

The same thing is true if the change occurs in the economic realm. In this respect the results are conspicuous

and the problem attracts attention. It is equally true, but not so conspicuous if the change occurs in the intellectual or spiritual realm. Now the results of economic failure show themselves immediately in poverty, dependency, or low standards of living. The failure to make a transition successfully in the intellectual realm or in religion is just as great a calamity from a social standpoint as economic failure. The results, however, are more obscure, and the problems arising therefrom are not associated with their true causes by the casual observer. As a result of unsuccessful adaptation to new conditions, a more or less serious breakdown occurs in the institutions which have developed and are functioning in connection with culture, religion, and morals.

The social forces, generated by the great remote causes of our social problems, operate in not only one but in all the realms of human interest. The resultant changes affect the distribution of the population, the relation of society to its means of subsistence, and the distribution of free wealth, and disturb the realm of intellectual effort as well as the fields of religion and morals. The transition, then, affects all classes more or less in all the departments of their experience. Few individuals, if any, are free from these disturbances.

The effects of a population's being forced to make adaptation to change show themselves in several ways. If the change is slow and continuous over long periods of time, whole generations of people live and die in an environment of transition. Complete adaptation for them is impossible, as conditions are constantly in flux. Partial adaptation is unsatisfactory, both to the individual and to society. The result is the increasing instability of institutions depending upon old ways of thinking and doing. The prolongation of the period of change makes it difficult to develop new and stable attitudes of mind and social habit to take the place of those breaking down.

MALADJUSTMENT AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

There are two other distinct results of profound social changes. The first of these appears where individuals are caught up in the shifting currents and lodged in unfavorable situations where they are overborne by circumstances and powerless to help themselves. This phenomenon is known as social maladjustment.⁴ It is most conspicuous in its economic and physical phases. It is, however, a very real problem in the intellectual or spiritual realm. The maladjusted individual has no hope of salvation within himself. If he is to be saved, his redemption must come at the hands of society.

The other distinct result of profound social change might well be termed social friction.

The writer as a boy, lived upon the banks of a broad and placid river. On still days its smooth surface stretched away into the distance, unbroken save for an occasional ripple where a rugged ledge in its stony bottom disturbed its even flow. The severe cold of winter froze its surface into a sheet of ice which attained a thickness of many inches. In the spring the melting snows increased the volume of water in the river and the ice "went out." Freed from the shores by the rising waters, the vast ice field began moving. The giant flow was next broken into enormous sections by the curves in the river bank. These sections began grinding against the banks of the river and against each other and at the points of friction raised up heaps of ground and broken ice. Ice began piling up on jutting points of the shore and upon the rocky ledges, sometimes mounting to a great height. Gradually the large sections of ice broke up until they became small enough to adapt themselves to each other and the shifting currents and for many hours the hissing, grinding, gleaming mass rushed by. When the "run

⁴ A good brief discussion of this phenomenon will be found in E. T. Devine, *Misery and its Causes*.

was out" and the open river was restored, great piles of broken ice on shore and reef remained for months to melt slowly away in the warm spring sunshine. So does the "cake of custom"⁵ break up and dissolve; but not without much grinding and rubbing of individuals and groups. As old social machinery breaks down new devices work imperfectly. There is constant friction between the new and the old, in ideas, religion and industry. At the points where it is greatest, individuals suffer most acutely. The same is true of institutions. When they are caught in the mass and damaged or ground to pieces, they attract the attention of society and we become conscious of "problems." Sometimes the extent of the damage is undetected until the institution begins to function improperly and examination discloses that it is almost beyond repair.

Social problems, then, are the results of social forces which manifest themselves in social friction, maladjustment, and the break-down of social machinery. These latter may be analyzed with relation to their immediate causes, namely, the shifts or changes taking place in the entire field of human affairs as a result of those forces. These shifts or changes in the affairs and conditions of men may be grouped logically and conveniently under four heads. Under these, in turn, may be enumerated most of the social problems in direct relation to their most important immediate causes. As the most important of the immediate causes, we have selected the following for analysis: 1. Shifts in the population. 2. Changes in the means of making a living. 3. Changes or shifts in the distribution of wealth. 4. Great religious and intellectual changes.

SHIFTS IN POPULATION

Migration is not a new thing in human history.⁶ In fact, the migratory movements of men and animals form the

⁵ Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, p. 58.

⁶ See A. C. Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*; E. Demolins, *How the Route creates the Social Type*.

earliest legends which underlie history. Migrations characterize primitive society. Except among exceedingly crude peoples, however, primitive migration was *en masse*. The wandering from state to state or from country to country of individuals or families is found only in highly developed civilizations. The reasons for this are obvious. In primitive society all members of the group are kindred and in a state of potential warfare with non-kindred groups. They have few possessions and maintain no permanent contacts with a given location. The exhaustion of the food supply, the pressure of increasing numbers on resources, or the invasion of their territory by powerful enemies may necessitate a change of location. As a result, the entire group picks up its belongings and moves until another suitable location is found. If single individuals or families were to set out alone, they would soon fall a prey to their enemies. Primitive tribal organization necessitated migration *en masse*.

In a highly developed civilization, migration is not a simple or an easy matter, for man retains his domestic and his social instincts. Through the ages of its development the human race set increasing store by certain assets of stable social life. One by one these have been accumulated from the remote past. The place of birth, the graves of ancestors, sacred spots, the association of relatives and friends as well as a common language, traditions and culture are powerful restraints upon the nomadic impulse. The pressure of discomfort, from whatever source, must be considerable before the individual begins to contemplate breaking with all of these and attempting to establish himself in a distant land. In addition, civilization tends to increase baggage, and one is torn between the inconvenience and expense of moving bulky goods and parting with treasured possessions.

In spite of international amity, and the fact that individuals have migrated to distant lands, many lingering forms of primitive hostility remain. Race prejudice is supple-

mented by natural antagonism against that which is strikingly different in language, manners, mode of life, religious practices, etc. Migration, then, involves the wrench of breaking with the past and the hazards of readjustment. It marks a point at which a relatively secure existence is abandoned for an experiment.

Any break with an established residence involves these elements in a measure. The hazards increase with the length of the migration, and the degree of difference between the people of the abandoned community and those of the newly adopted locality.

Movement of population from one country to another is suggested by the word migration, but to the student of social phenomena it means also the moving about of population within a given country. This latter kind has two distinct forms with social results peculiar to each; although occurring in European states, they are most characteristic of America. These two forms are the great shift going on from country to city, and from one region to another. The westward movement of population in the United States and Canada constituted perhaps, the greatest appropriation of practically unoccupied territory in all recorded history. The feeble resistance of the Indian tribes scarcely checked the wave of humanity which stopped only when the ocean barrier was reached. It required a century and a half for the frontier to cross the continent. Behind it steadily developed a rural society which was to characterize our national life for a hundred years. The traditions of freedom were kept vigorous by the presence of new opportunity upon the frontier. Not until the ocean was reached did the development of commercialism and industry leave the eastern states and begin its westward march. Modern historians are giving proper consideration to the importance of the frontier in our national life.

Not so hopeful a picture can be drawn of the great move-

ment of population from country to city. For over half a century the urban population of America has gained upon the country dwellers. In the 1920 census the numbers in the two groups were practically equal.⁷ The development of modern industry and its concentration of an ever-increasing proportion of the population in towns has been viewed with growing concern by many students of social phenomena. The corruption of politics and government in the cities did not indicate that the artificial conditions found there were unfavorable to self-government, but that we had not yet adjusted our political traditions to city life. On the other hand, certain recent achievements, such as the successful fight against disease and concerted action for community betterment have led competent observers to believe that the city holds vast possibilities for an industrialized society.⁸ American city government during the past two decades, while not yet reaching European standards, has shown heartening improvement.

While the movements of population in the United States described above were taking place, a stream of migrants was flowing into the country from Europe. The general problem of immigration did not attract a great deal of attention until the middle of the last century,⁹ because the newcomers were from the same sections of Europe as the early colonists had been, and consequently were easily and rapidly assimilated. When the streams of migrants began to come from the south and east of Europe, the multiplying differences between the immigrants and the native population created friction. Finally these differences became so great that the

⁷ *U. S. Census*, 1920, Vol. I, p. 43, Table 26, gives figures since 1880 for cities of 8,000 and over as follows:

Year	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Urban pop.	28.6%	35.4%	40.0%	45.8%	51.4%

⁸ F. W. Howe, *The City the Hope of Democracy*; and *Socialized Germany*.

⁹ J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, pp. 295 ff.

process of absorption was nearly suspended, and the immigrants from the Mediterranean and the east of Europe began definitely to colonize in the large cities and in the industrial communities of the eastern part of the country. As a result of this latter development, distinct problems arise which press for a speedy solution.

SHIFTS IN THE MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

The shift in the means of getting a living does not lend itself so readily to analysis as do shifts in the population. The growth of the wage-earning class has been so gradual as to attract little attention in itself. Problems arising from this shift show themselves in any given industry after the revolution in that industry is well advanced. Not until capitalistic production assumes considerable proportions does it begin to displace independent producers on a large scale. The shift from the domestic to the factory system was accompanied by acute distress only in those communities in which the major portion of the population lived by one industry. The transition from agricultural modes of subsistence to industrial modes may be made with immediate benefit to the individual. The problems arising from the transition on a large scale are of such a character as not to be obviously related to this cause.

The proprietary producer has certain safeguards against emergencies. He owns his farm, his shop, his tools, or his business. He has some reserve upon which to fall back in times of stress. We have already seen how the wage-earner is at the mercy of the industrial situation. Problems due to shifts in the means of livelihood, therefore, are wont to be most conspicuous when a general condition due to that shift is brought to the attention of the public by an emergency of some kind. Unemployment is a good illustration in point. Certain other direct results of this shift are not commonly attributed to this cause at all. Rarely do the many individual failures to make the shift successfully re-

ceive recognition as such, but attract attention as poverty, unemployment, non-support, poor health, and many other familiar forms of social pathology.

SHIFTS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

One of the outstanding features of the modern social problem is the rapidity with which free wealth is concentrating in the hands of a few individuals. This represents a change in the distribution of material resources from the many to the few. This does not however necessarily mean that the many are being impoverished in the process. The opposite may be true. The masses may be in receipt of a larger amount of income than ever before while this shift is taking place. It is the disproportionate distribution of the proceeds of the industrial process which we have to consider. The results of this appear in several ways. The power which wealth gives to its possessors frequently appears to distort the individual's perspective and disrupt normal social relationships. Almost without being conscious of the fact, the modern industrial world has begun to develop an ethics of business which is not compatible with traditional social ethics.¹⁰ The recognition of this situation and the sincere efforts of the more enlightened members of the present business world to remedy this condition bear witness to the fact that such a development has occurred.¹¹ The machinery of justice seems to be subject to the same subtle influence which distorts the individual conscience. Apparently man's conscience, except in rare cases, has not evolved sufficiently to measure up to the unlimited responsibility imposed by the possession of great wealth.

There are other and more conspicuous results of the concentration of wealth. Due to it, a new revolution is taking place in the industrial world. Production *en masse*, the wholesale transformation of resources into wealth, car-

¹⁰ A. T. Hadley, *Standards of Public Morality*, chap. I.

¹¹ T. Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, chap. VIII.

ries with it a group of social problems which we are coming to recognize as "industrial." Here again, the interests of private fortunes are frequently pitted against the interests of great masses of people with unfortunate results. The mushroom growth of teeming industrial communities is seldom accompanied by the provision of much useful social machinery with which a naturally developed community equips itself.¹² As a consequence many needs are unmet and remain so until grave abuses cause protest from within, or philanthropy invades the community from without. The artificial distribution of population in these communities produces a separation between the employing and the laboring classes which is largely responsible for the dissatisfaction growing in the minds of the laborers. This dissatisfaction constitutes one of the serious forms of social unrest and, over-stepping the limits of the industrial controversy, it provides a fertile soil for political agitation.

INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL CHANGES

We have yet to consider an important group of changes of a character entirely different from those just discussed. These are taking place in man's intellectual or psychic world. The relation between them and resultant problems is obscure. Shifts in the population, in the means of livelihood, and in the distribution of wealth produce immediate and tangible problems. The presence of the alien in mass, economic failure and conspicuous poverty, together with the spectacular exhibitions of luxury of the very rich, constitute social phenomena which force themselves into the public consciousness.

Ignorance does not cause pain until it becomes self-conscious; but life is colorless and meaningless when it lacks purpose and conviction. Even the acquisition of knowledge cannot make up for this deficiency. In spite of the measure of success attained by the modern experiment

¹² G. R. Taylor, *Satellite, Cities*, chaps. VI, VII.

of compulsory education, the proportion of convictionless and purposeless individuals in the population is probably greater than ever before. In fact, it would be strange if it were otherwise. The old, dominating philosophy of life and the religious convictions which gave it being have broken down in the face of the great intellectual forces which destroyed the old order.¹³ No great, commanding convictions have appeared in their stead to give definiteness and purpose to existence. The result is a vague but very real unrest in the spiritual and intellectual world, intangible in itself, but demonstrating its existence in many familiar phenomena. The persistent clinging to the old fundamentals in the face of the overwhelming evidence of modern science; the popularity of oriental mysticism in whatever guise it makes its appearance; the debauchery of art and ethical culture; the clang and syncopation of jazz music and dancing, together with the reversal of life habits in eating and sleeping, bear clamorous witness to the hysterical effort to escape the deadly ennui of meaningless and purposeless existence.¹⁴

Nor is this social hysteria the only result of religious and intellectual shifts. Throughout long ages, society has been building great institutions around its religious concepts. Other institutions of society were immensely stabilized by them. Thus was social solidarity achieved and perpetuated. To these institutions society committed the tremendous task of socializing the individual and of safeguarding life, property, and justice. With the chaos incident to the changes in religion, the church loses its influence over the masses, its outgrown machinery faltering at a tremendously vital, but thoroughly unfamiliar, task. The family, stripped of its sanctity and moral backing, becomes unstable on the flimsy basis of romantic love.

¹³ J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*; J. Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy*.

¹⁴ See Tannenbaum, "The Ku Klux Klan," in *Century*, April, 1923.

With this chaotic condition in the psychic world, it was inevitable that the gigantic experiment of modern education should hesitate and falter for want of a definite idea as to the end to be attained. In spite of some significant pioneer undertakings, a satisfactory program for universal education is still to be found.

NATURE OF SOCIAL UNREST

The unrest due to psychic uncertainty is tremendously augmented by the other great changes already described. So much is this true, that some economists have made the mistake of defining social unrest in economic terms.¹⁵ It is, however, a much broader phenomenon than that. It is that great and growing dissatisfaction resulting from an increasingly unsuccessful adjustment of society to profound changes in the affairs and conditions of men. It shows itself in two familiar ways due to the state of its development at a given time and place, or in a given social group. Social unrest may be called articulate if it has equipped itself with a supposed reason for its woes and a propaganda for their removal. Under this head, we have the familiar political and economic phases of unrest in the propaganda of Anarchism, Socialism, Syndicalism, and certain other phases of the struggle between capital and labor. The social aspects of unrest are more obscure as for instance in the revolt of women in the feminist movement, and in the break-up of the family. Religious unrest is occasionally articulate in organized revolt against orthodoxy, but more often shows itself in feeling of baffled helplessness toward life.

Inarticulate unrest is that form of unrest which is still vague and undefined. It consists of a general uneasiness and dissatisfaction not yet rationalized, and therefore, unorganized. In a sense, it is more dangerous socially than

¹⁵ J. G. Brooks, *Social Unrest*. See, also, a much more recent study, R. L. Finney, *The Causes and Cures for Social Unrest*.

articulate unrest, because of the ease with which it lends itself to the devices of agitators and the unreasoning fury with which it may be mobilized against fancied wrongs which may be ever so remotely, or not at all, related to its real causes. Wherever there is a considerable amount of inarticulate unrest, it may be crystallized locally at any time into one of many familiar forms of emotional reaction to environmental conditions, such as race riots, lynchings, mob violence, race and religious antagonism, anti-semitism, anti-orientalism, and the combination of one or more of these with local political issues as seen in the recent revival of the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁶

Outbreaks of inarticulate unrest may be distinguished from the propaganda of articulate unrest by two characteristics. Social disturbances, due to inarticulate unrest, are more violent because largely emotional and unintelligent. They spend themselves rapidly and do not perfect lasting organization. Antagonisms and prejudices do not lend themselves to stable, rationalized propaganda. Familiar illustrations of a sort are religious upheavals and numerous local disturbances, race riots, etc.

Before passing definitely from a general discussion of causes to a classification of problems resulting from them, it may be profitable, in the interest of clearness, to summarize briefly the propositions laid down in this and the preceding chapter.

In chapter six, we definitely turned our attention from consideration of the social problem as a whole to the analysis of its manifestations in the social problems of the present time. These were found to be due to *two sets of causes* which we chose to call *remote* and *immediate*. The great remote causes were described as *the discovery of new knowledge about man and his world, the discovery of new worlds, and the industrial revolution*. These great remote causes were conceived of as creating *great social forces*

¹⁶ Tannenbaum, *loc. cit.*; J. M. Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan*.

which set in motion and sustained certain definite *changes or shifts in the affairs and conditions of men*. The social consequences of these changes were described as appearing in three forms, namely, *social friction*, *maladjustment* and the *break-down of institutions*. These attract attention in the many *social problems* familiar to almost everybody.

The shifts and changes, described as the *immediate causes* of social problems were analyzed under four heads as follows:

1. *Shifts in the population* were described as being of three types; *from one part of a country to another, from country to city, and from country to country*.

2. *Shifts in the means of livelihood* from independent or proprietary self-support to the wage-earning system, and from one occupation to another.

3. *Shifts in the distribution of wealth*, especially in the concentration of wealth in industry.

4. *Great intellectual and religious changes* showing themselves in *education and culture, religion and the philosophy of life*.

Growing out of the failure and inability of an ever increasing number of individuals to adjust themselves successfully to these changes, there appears in the social body a state of dissatisfaction and uneasiness which was termed *social unrest*. This unrest was shown to manifest itself in two distinct ways. *Articulate unrest* was described as that type which has organized itself around a supposed grievance and has undertaken a more or less definite program with a view to its correction. *Inarticulate unrest* was defined as that vague and unrationalized unrest which may be crystallized at any time into one of many familiar forms of emotional reaction to environmental conditions.

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VIII

MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION

IN considering the consequences of changes in the population, the historic development of American social life determines the order in which the three forms of shift shall be studied. A constant movement from east to west has characterized the population from the beginning of our national existence. The next fact to claim our attention is the rapid growth of towns and industrial communities at the expense of the rural districts. The last great shift was the rapid augmentation of our population as a result of the influx from Europe.

The reader's attention has been called to the great westward drift of population while America was being claimed for the white race. The first stages of this drift were very unlike the movement which was to develop later. No previous civilization ever witnessed the conquest of such a vast stretch of virgin territory in so short a time. The passing of the frontier marked the close of an epoch in human history in a sense unlike any other.¹ Not only did the frontier shape the destiny of America, but it profoundly affected the whole civilized world.

MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION FROM PART TO PART

At the close of the Revolutionary War the population of America occupied the narrow strip of land lying east of the Appalachian range, including New England and the ex-

¹ For extended discussion see F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*; E. D. Adams, *The Power of Ideals in American History*; C. L. Goodwin, *The Trans-Mississippi West*; R. M. McElroy, *The Conquest of the Far West*; and F. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*.

treme eastern part of New York State. From the summit of the range westward stretched a strip of land several hundred miles wide running from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. Into the eastern fringe of this strip, hardy settlers were pushing their way. Trappers and traders penetrated well beyond the middle of this zone and a few hardy individuals, on one pretext or another, carried expeditions to its western extremity and brought back fascinating stories of adventure, and accounts of fabulous reaches of forest and river valley, of mighty streams and boundless plains abounding in game. There lay the frontier to cast its magic spell over American life through the whole period of its youth. For a hundred years it was to be an enchanting reality, for, instead of being stationary, it began to move slowly across the continent, ever retaining its novel and stimulating character, until it dissolved into memory on the western slopes of the Coast Range. The hardy men and women of the frontier transformed this untamed domain into the domestic country-side, consecrating it with their labor, their sacrifices and their devotion. Here was laid the foundation for the world's greatest experiment in self-government.

The frontier was also the last resort of the renegade and the ne'er-do-well, and its history offers much that is sordid and mean. In the main, however, the ethical aspects of the frontier period were as described above.² Simultaneous with the majestic sweep of the frontier across the continent, and second if not equal to it in political and ethical significance, was the great wave of hardy but less venturesome agriculturalists who filled in the scattered settlements of the frontier and made America a great nation of country folk, loving simplicity, passionate for liberty and justice, devoted to their schools and their religion. In the pioneer zone and its following agricultural life, the dignity and the worth of man were to be enthroned. The love of homely justice, the sincere love of liberty, a profound belief in democracy and

² E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, chap. I.

so-called shirt-sleeve diplomacy, gave America, in spite of the oft told sordid chapters of our history, the confidence and honest admiration of mankind.³

When the Puritans settled on the Atlantic coast, they established ideas which spread westward until they reached the Pacific. The love of religion and the love of learning were to build across the country two institutions of far reaching importance,—the country church and the country school, the true shrines of American devotion.

In the nature of things, these phases of the westward movement could not last indefinitely. Two more movements were to begin in the east and start their westward march. The first of these movements was the spread of industrialism and the second was the migration of social failures.⁴ Before we can get a true insight into these two movements, it will be necessary to analyze some of the results of the great pioneer and agricultural conquest of the continent.

Pioneers are, as a rule, physically and intellectually vigorous. It takes a hardy, resourceful and capable type to combat successfully the dangers and the hardships of the frontier. What happened, then, was a constant draining off of these elements from the Eastern population as long as the pioneer movement was in progress. This draining process continued in much reduced volume for a long time after the frontier has disappeared. The result is that the population remaining behind becomes increasingly conservative. Therefore, it transpires that at a certain distance behind the westward movement of the frontier, a definite change comes over the eastern population. Each generation gets further away from its own pioneer days. Each generation loses a certain percentage of its progressive and ambitious youth. And again, each generation becomes richer in age, culture and tradition.

³ See E. D. Adams, *The Power of Ideals in American History*.

⁴ There was a sprinkling of social failures among the pioneers but their greatest movement followed the conquest of the frontier.

The third great westward movement is that of industry. Starting from the manufacturing communities in New England and along the Atlantic coast, this movement takes up its march across the continent. It leaps the Alleghenies to the iron and coal of western Pennsylvania and filters down the Ohio valley. It follows the Erie canal across New York to the Lakes and skirts these to the Middle West. Its vigorous and enterprising outposts have reached the Pacific.

The way is now prepared for the fourth great western movement. While the selective process described above is going on, a small proportion of the physical stocks of the east are becoming more feeble. Poverty and degeneracy multiply. With the spread of industrialism, the struggle for existence becomes more rigorous. The result is an increase in the number of social failures. For these too the West holds the lure of a new chance. Hopefully the more ambitious among them abandon the scenes of their social breakdown and turn their faces toward the land of a better day. The migration of the unfit is under way. Stopping here and there along the way, they endeavor to recruit their fallen fortunes. They gravitate into the almshouses, the slums of western cities, and into the least desirable rural communities, clear across the country. "Poor white" mountain stocks from Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas have worked westward through Kentucky and Tennessee to the Ozarks in Missouri and Arkansas, and finally they have crossed the plains to gravitate into inaccessible mountain valleys in western Washington and Oregon. This westward migration of the social failures brings to the still youthful western communities various symptoms of advanced age.

SHIFTS FROM COUNTRY TO CITY

For many, however, the lure of the West was offset by attractions of the towns, and a distinct movement coinciding in a large degree with that to the West, developed from the rural districts to the cities. Two distinct sets of social

problems arise from this shift in the population. First there is the effect upon the communities from which the stream of migrants flows, similar in many ways to that of the westward movement; and second the new problems arising in the points of concentration, the towns and cities.

For the past twenty years, the problems of the open country and the country village, now commonly known as rural social problems, have been receiving increasing attention.⁵ The basic reason for these problems is found in the steady exodus of farm and village populations. In the period following the appropriation of the land by the early settlers, the rural districts enjoyed a stability of population which was mainly responsible for the development of the institutions whose value to society we have previously discussed. In order that we may visualize the results of the break-up of that stability by the cityward and the westward drift, let us provide ourselves with a mental picture of the rural districts before these movements became pronounced.

Much has been written about the attractiveness of rural social life of a generation ago. Much of it has been idealized and much that was sordid and unattractive from the present city dweller's viewpoint has been glossed over or omitted. Without appearing to exalt those conditions unduly, we wish to analyze the rural life of yesterday with a view to the evaluation of its institutions.

The extent and efficiency of rural institutions depend very largely upon the stability of the population. For several generations, before the shifts to the West and the city became noticeable, the rural districts of the eastern part of the United States had enjoyed a fair degree of solidarity. Farms of the pioneers passed to their sons and their sons' sons. Inter-marriage among these old families cemented the natural communities with the bonds of kinship in addition to the ties of life-long friendships and neighborli-

⁵ K. L. Butterfield, *Problems of Country Life*; J. M. Gillette, *Constructive Rural Sociology*; P. H. Douglas, *The Small Town*.

ness. Developing from such a background neighborhood activity centered around the church and the school and provided a simple and unsophisticated but wholesome and satisfactory social life. The education was often crude and the religion generally austere, but they enshrined high ideals. Childhood associations between the sexes ripened into long courtships which culminated in stable marriages. Childless families were rare, and divorce equally so. In the more eastern states, this rural life centered around the little villages which were scattered thickly over the territory. They were little more than sociable aggregations of soil-tillers centering around the village church. In them would be found one or more small industrial establishments, serving community needs.

The reader must not get the impression, however, that all the problems of the rural community date from the beginning of the migration to the towns. Under the conditions described above, many aspects of rural life were far from satisfactory. The roads were almost impassable during certain parts of the year. This made marketing of country produce almost impossible at the times when marketing would have been most advantageous. Living conditions were crude in the extreme, and education most elementary and secured under great disadvantages. The crux of the rural problem, however, centers in the break-down of rural institutions. This break-down was inevitable when the population became unstable. Life-long residents provide the necessary stability for social life, the school and the church. When the shift began, those institutions were imperilled.

PROBLEMS OF THE OPEN COUNTRY

The drudgery of farm life passed unnoticed until a more attractive mode of existence could be compared with it. When the towns developed they offered what appeared to be more attractive social life, better living conditions, better education, more attractive religion, and an opportunity to

labor for immediate monetary rewards, with shorter hours and many alluring diversions for leisure time. The result was the migration of the young from rural districts to the towns. At the same time, railroads and canals were bringing the West nearer, which seemed to promise greater rewards for an equal amount of toil. When resident farmers grew old, the farms became a problem. Where they had formerly been turned over to the children, the children had gone West or were now city dwellers. As a result, many retiring farmers moved to the villages and the small towns, selling the farms or leaving them in the hands of renters or hired workers. The results in either case were unsatisfactory to the rural district. If the farm was sold, the newcomers rarely filled the place in the community which the earlier family had occupied. There was not the generation-old love and support of the school and the church and interest in the community's problems. If the farm was rented or farmed by a hired farmer, the results were still more unsatisfactory. A tenant population is an unstable population of a lower grade of social responsibility than resident owners. As the movement of the older population away from the rural community continued, the results began to show in the rural institutions. The congregation of the old country church grows smaller and poorer. In time, the enterprise fails to yield results proportionate to the efforts and too often, after a period of intermittent activity, the congregation disbands and the building falls into decay.⁶

At the same time, other forces, which will be discussed later, were at work to decrease the numbers in the rural districts. The problem of maintaining the district school becomes increasingly acute. The shift in the character of the population causes interest in the schools and other community enterprises to lag and the schools to deteriorate.

⁶ On the plight of the country church see C. Gill and G. Pinchot, *Six Thousand Country Churches*; also W. E. Wilson, *The Church and the Open Country*; and C. L. Fry, *Diagnosing the Rural Church*.

As a result of the transient, shifting character of a part of the rural population, together with the break-down of the church as a rallying point of community activity, rural social life deteriorates and community needs requiring co-operation and neighborhood organization begin to suffer. The rural community in many instances has deteriorated to a point bordering on disintegration. The question of solving the problem becomes a difficult one, as the things needful for an improvement of rural conditions, such as better roads, better marketing facilities, better social life and living conditions, as well as ready access to educational and religious facilities,—require a measure of organization and co-operation, which are exceedingly difficult to secure and maintain in many communities where the need is the greatest.

PROBLEMS OF THE VILLAGES

In the meantime, a similar change has been taking place in the villages. Here again the migration takes away the young, the capable, and the enterprising. The remaining population is divided rather sharply into two classes. The first and smaller of these is composed of the retired farmers and elderly villagers who are content to spend their declining years in the old familiar environment. To these will be added a small number of persons who conduct the business of the community. The local store-keepers, the proprietor of the hotel, the feed business, the dealer in farm machinery and general hardware, the school teachers and a doctor will be found in the typical village. Add again a small number of young or middle aged persons who are held behind their more fortunate acquaintances by the care of aged parents, and you have the group which endeavors to carry on the necessary business of the community. They support the local church, or more frequently, the several local churches. They uphold the work of the school and initiate various movements to check the decline of their community. They imitate the social life of the towns and

advertise their slender resources much after the fashion of boosters' clubs and chambers of commerce of the large cities. But in business, education and religion they are conservative as well as individualistic. As a result, progress is slow and painful and comes only in response to most urgent need. The church or churches remain open as a result of the activities of shrunken congregations and are served often by superannuated clergymen or itinerant theological students. As a result, the church no longer furnishes leadership to the community.

The second division of the village population is composed of all those persons who are so shiftless and devoid of ambition and energy as to have no desire to get away. Content with the conditions of village poverty, they subsist by tilling little plots of ground, doing day labor or odd jobs, and in some instances they eke out a wretched existence by legal and illegal hunting, fishing, and trapping, and numerous other ways of extracting a living from occupations below the level of profitable industry. Among these persons will be found much typical pauperism and many forms and degrees of degeneracy.⁷ Intemperance, illegitimacy and vice are common among them; but efforts to remedy the condition are fraught with difficulty because among their number are many degenerate relatives of more prosperous and respectable families in the community. So nothing is done unless spectacular conditions arise, such as flagrant immorality, dangerous insanity, desperate poverty, or serious crime.

There have been two distinct stages in the growth of the towns. The early part of the period of industrial development was characterized by what has proved to be relatively small-scale manufacturing establishments. Industry was local in character. The result was the development of a large number of towns of from fifteen to sixty thousand

⁷Typical pauperism is that due to personal inferiority while technical pauperism is largely the result of accident.

population. The necessary conditions were a fairly prosperous surrounding territory, the presence of some resources in raw materials, accessibility to fuel, and some form of transportation. For a time, these small towns hummed with prosperity and many small fortunes were accumulated. But events were shaping which were to paralyze many hundreds of these thriving industrial centers. Those events were the transition of American industry from small-scale to large-scale production as a result of the concentration of large sums of capital and the development of monopolistic conditions. Immediately a relatively small number of strategically located cities sprang into the lead and developed at a phenomenal rate. The hundreds of smaller towns entered a period of stagnation which was to last for many years. Some of them actually retrograded, as small industries collapsed in the face of powerful competition from the great industrial centers.

PROBLEMS OF THE SMALL TOWNS

A movement of population now set in, not unlike the migration from the open country and the villages. The result was the development in the small towns of a conservative, if not reactionary, group in control of industry and politics. Conditions in industry and trade developed the well-known characteristics of "dead towns."⁸ In the great thriving centers, these towns become known as provincial. The smaller ones were designated by much less polite epithets. While no direct social problems result, distinguishable from those of all cities, the spiritual effects are unfortunate. The lack of opportunity for aspiring youth has a deadening effect on business, government, and politics. Respectably corrupt political machines entrench themselves in control and stifle progress for years in the interest of political advantage. Public needs are exploited almost at will and popular revolt is well-nigh hopeless. Conservatism and ma-

⁸ See Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street*.

terialism dominate life. Recent economic developments which do not come within the province of this discussion, are now bringing hope and new life to many of these stranded towns.

Having surveyed the problems arising in communities characterized by an exodus of population, we shall now turn our attention to the communities in which the migrating streams have concentrated. We have before us the familiar and much discussed municipal social problems. Failure to make adjustment to urban modes of life shows itself in several familiar social problems. Poverty in cities has some characteristics which distinguish it from its rural manifestations. Rural communities have ways of caring for various forms of poverty so that they do not constitute acute problems. If a farmer falls upon hard times through sickness or misfortune, neighbors come to his aid and he is not stigmatized as receiving charity. Aged parents and other relatives find a corner by the fireside of the younger generation without seriously affecting the economic status of the family. There is no close relation between house space and income. Food comes from the garden, the barnyard, the orchard, and the field, and is not thought of in terms of cost. Orphaned children find natural homes with aunts, uncles, or grandparents.

URBAN SOCIAL PROBLEMS

City poverty has no such simple solutions. The transition to urban modes of life has not cooled the cockles of the human heart. It is economic necessity which compels a new reaction to the needs of the unfortunate. Fireside space and food supplies have become matters of grave economic concern, and the income is not flexible any more than are the walls of rented houses or the account at the grocery store. We are indebted to Doctor Devine for the statement that poverty becomes a social problem when the needy have to ask aid of strangers or persons upon whom they have no

claim other than a common humanity.⁹ The aged poor must now receive public aid or seek refuge in homes provided by private philanthropists. Dependent children must find foster homes with strangers or grow up in the artificial atmosphere of child-caring institutions. Families and individuals temporarily in need must resort to the aid of welfare agencies or the public poor fund. The stigma attached to public relief causes many to do without necessities, and health, morals, and posterity are menaced.

Social life in the cities is artificial in the extreme. Families live in the midst of strangers and find their associates in devious ways. Business, work, the church, the labor union, the fraternal order, furnish the opportunities for acquaintance and friendship. The people thus attracted may live in widely separate neighborhoods. Thus the neighborhood ceases to afford its wonted social contacts.¹⁰ Families are crowded among folk with whom they have few interests in common. As a result, the environment does not provide the normal social life it does in more natural communities. Consequently, much leisure is spent in aimless idleness or absorbed by recreations and amusements provided mainly by commercial enterprise. Under these circumstances, many persons are obliged to resort to diversions where the character of the amusement or recreation is not entirely of their own choosing. Unfortunately, the commercial exploitation of leisure-time needs has often been of a questionable character. Proprietors have been impressed with the fact that amusements which border on the vulgar or suggestive are in demand. Not infrequently commercial amusements and recreation establishments have been found to be in league with vice and the dispensers of alcoholic stimulants. The problem of supervision and censorship is as yet unsolved.

Children are natural democrats. All that one requires

⁹ See E. T. Devine, *The Principles of Relief*, p. 4.

¹⁰ On the importance of these "primary groups" see C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, chaps. III-V; and M. P. Follett, *The New State*.

for full admission to fraternal relations is a reasonably full equipment of physical parts and a willingness to "play the game." Perhaps the only approximation of natural neighborhood social life under city conditions is found among the children. In the development of the city, unfortunately, the matter of facilities for the play of children has usually been overlooked until the oversight bears fruit in abnormal conduct.¹¹ A tardy recognition of the need for such facilities finds property values high and equipment and direction expensive. The result is municipal equipment excellent in intent but inadequate to meet the need. Neighborhoods adjacent to playgrounds have access to ideal conditions for part of the year, while many communities where the need is as great or greater remain unprovided for.

An old proverb attests to man's early appreciation of the close relation existing between idleness and evil. This appears to be true at least for youth and middle age. Inadequate provision for the normal exercise of the play instinct contributes to juvenile delinquency. So do the artificial and unnatural diversions of adults bear a close relation to vice and crime.

As aggregations of people increase in the towns, the distribution of population takes one or both of two distinct forms.¹² In the vicinity of the greatest employment, land values increase to the point where it becomes unprofitable to use space for single family residences. If the returns on the land are to be secured from domestic uses, it becomes necessary to crowd larger and larger numbers of persons upon a given area. The result is a congestion of population which has become conspicuous as the tenement house problem. Surface space being rigidly limited, the only direction for expansion is upward. Building in this direction

¹¹ See S. N. Patten, *The New Basis of Civilization*, chap. VI.

¹² For a fuller discussion of the problems outlined in the following pages see F. C. Howe, *The Modern City and Its Problems*; H. M. Pollock, *Modern Cities*; and G. W. Sharpe, *City Life and Its Amelioration*.

beyond a certain minimum creates conditions dangerous to physical and moral health.¹³

Closely related to the problems of the tenement house district is the problem of the city slum.¹⁴ Slums are of many forms. The most familiar type is that of the outgrown residence district from which the original population has been driven by the encroachment of business, of manufacture, or by the invasion of undesirable neighbors. Owners of property, reluctant to incur the expense of rebuilding to accommodate lower income tenants, attempt to secure a higher return by crowding large numbers of tenants into antiquated and poorly equipped buildings. Adding to the evil of congestion of large numbers of persons with low standards of living in unsanitary quarters, we have the problem aggravated by efforts to increase income and distribute rent costs. One of these is the effort to add to the family income by utilizing the labor of the entire family in what has become famous as the "sweat shop," in which the home is turned into a factory and the health and morals of the family are endangered.¹⁵ The other is the effort to distribute the rent cost to a larger number of individuals by taking lodgers.¹⁶ The menace to health and morals from this practice equals that of tenement house manufacture in many cases.

The second type of population distribution induced by aggregation is the spreading out of the city dwellers into areas of lower land values to escape the evils of congestion. The results of this process are not so conspicuous as the problems of the tenements and the slums, but the problems

¹³ For an authoritative discussion see L. Veiller, *The Tenement House Problem*.

¹⁴ On the slums see the works of Howe, Pollock, Sharpe and Veiller cited in preceding references. See, also, J. A. Riis, *A Ten Years' War; The Battle with the Slums; and How the Other Half Lives*.

¹⁵ See Florence Kelley, *Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation*, pp. 212-240.

¹⁶ On the extent of the lodger problem among immigrant families see S. P. Breckenridge, *New Homes for Old*, pp. 23-27, 52, 63, 64.

are none the less real. The following is the usual course of events. On plots of ground at considerable distance from the employment centers, small residences spring up on fairly good sized lots. These are built by owners or by speculators to be sold to workmen or rented to them. In any case, the houses are small, cheaply built and inadequately equipped for comfort and convenience. Two conditions immediately arise to offset the advantages of home ownership or low rentals. Transportation to and from work must be provided. Traction companies must realize returns on expensive extensions into thinly settled districts and consequently transportation costs are high. In addition to this, the municipality is forced to extend sewers and water mains, and public service corporations bring in gas and electricity for fuel and lighting. In addition to sewers and water mains, the municipality is forced to the expense of laying pavements. It is able to shift a certain proportion of the cost to the property owners. Added to this is the further public expense of school property and teaching, and police and fire protection. In sparsely settled districts this puts an enormous burden upon the inhabitants and taxes increase to the point practically prohibitive of home ownership.

Seeking to escape again from the intolerable burdens imposed by the above described conditions, population begins moving beyond the city limits for the benefit of cheap land and lower taxes. The new district grows to the point where lack of sewage disposal and a public water supply menace health, and to secure these and other public utilities, the district asks permission to be taken into the incorporation and the process is repeated. Presently transportation and other costs offset the advantages of isolated or separate residence and the population begins filling in on itself. The tenement house population, and consequently the tenement house districts, increase as a result.

The country dweller got his water supply from wells,

surface springs or a system of storage of rain water drained from the roofs of his buildings. His sewage was disposed of by a simple process of land absorption at some little distance from his house. These primitive devices become impossible in the transition to urban modes of existence. A defective system of sewage disposal or an inadequate or impure water supply now imperils the health of a large part or all of the population. On account of the close proximity of the people to each other, a grave danger arises from the appearance of communicable diseases. Slovenly or unsanitary health habits of individuals now become a menace to the entire community and health passes over from a wholly individual matter to one of public concern. On account of the close relation between food and health, public officials invade the field of private enterprise and dictate the conditions under which certain commodities shall be produced and distributed.

There is one important phase of the development of the urban mode of life which, in the opinion of the writer, has not received the consideration which it merits. That is the fact that the neighborhood in the city is an aggregation of strangers. The very word neighborhood implies the capacity of a group of people to do things for one another and together. This implies long acquaintance and understanding and mutual sympathies. Neighborhoods of this character are rare in the towns. As a consequence, many things of direct interest to people which they are in position to secure for themselves under normal neighborhood conditions, are not looked after. Conditions of streets, lighting, regulation of the character of buildings, location of schools and supervision of school conditions, moral and social conditions among the young, and other matters of local interest often go by default until situations become so serious that it is difficult to change them. The protest then made, instead of being a normal group affair, is an artificially stimulated action, poorly organized and unstable with the

result that it does not produce a steady or effective pressure. After the immediate emergency is passed, the interest dies down and the temporary organization falls to pieces.

As a result of these conditions in the city, many things of importance which ought to be looked after by the people of the neighborhoods are entrusted to departments of the municipal government. They then become routine matters, as the officials in charge look upon them as city-wide problems to be dealt with on a basis of general policy instead of one of local needs and conditions. As long as the city as a whole is reasonably well cared for, officials are glad to let things alone regardless of the situation in particular districts. Abuses or evils now must become quite general and pressure upon officials insistent, before remedial steps are considered necessary. When people living in a given neighborhood and affected directly are not sufficiently interested in the conditions to participate intelligently in their control, that control cannot be delegated successfully to officials who have no local interests and whose general point of view is official and technical, rather than personal. Just as the break-down of community solidarity was largely responsible for rural social problems, the failure of the urban community to develop that solidarity is in a great measure, responsible for many of the social problems characteristic of cities.¹⁷

SHIFTS OF THE POPULATION FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER

The problems of immigration are so grave, and they merit such careful consideration, that there is an ever-present temptation to overstep the limits set for this volume. Here, as in the case of the drift from one part of the country to another and from the country to the city, we have two nat-

¹⁷ See P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, for a stimulating plan of solving modern urban problems; also Geddes and Branford, *The Coming Polity*.

ural divisions. We shall, however, ignore the problems arising in the countries from which migration occurs. Limitations of space necessitate an all too brief consideration of the problems created by the presence of the immigrant in the land of his adoption.

No serious immigration problem arose in America over the coming of the earlier immigrants, mainly Irish, German, and Scandinavian; all of them closely allied to the pioneer stock in race and culture. With the Irish Roman Catholics, there was some friction of a religious character which showed itself in the Know Nothing movement and in some labor disturbances.¹⁸ The rapidly-developing industry of America quickly absorbed the laborers who soon rose from the ranks of the unskilled. The newcomers for the greater part adapted themselves to their new conditions and were quickly assimilated into the American population. In certain districts, rural colonizations of Germans quite naturally threatened complications during the World War. These were quite naturally magnified out of all proportion to their seriousness as a result of the hysteria of war-time psychology.

As we have already seen, the real immigration problem in America resulted from the shift in the source of the stream of migrants from the north and west of Europe to the south and east. This shift brought immigrants with differences of race, language, religion and state of culture so great as practically to prevent their being assimilated readily into the native population. The result was the colonization of the new arrivals in great sections of the larger cities and in industrial districts where their language, customs, and standards of living were perpetuated.¹⁹

Another great difference between the earlier and the later

¹⁸ See Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, pp. 295, ff.

¹⁹ The 1910 Census of the United States reveals such colonization in New York City as follows: Russians and Lithuanians 487,275; Italians 390,832; Polish 145,679; Austrians 126,739.

immigrants resulted from the character of the forces which impelled them to leave their native lands.²⁰ While the reasons for the earlier movement had been largely political and religious, the later movement was in the main economic in character. Extreme poverty and the burden of supporting debt-laden national governments were the main motives for the later migration. The glowing reports of the high wages and the luxurious living conditions of even the wage-earning classes made America appear as the scriptural land of promise, flowing with milk and honey. These reports and openly conducted propaganda of steam-ship companies and American capital seeking unskilled laborers²¹ swelled the stream of migrants to proportions which created alarm and brought about efforts to check the inflow, and induced the hesitating and uncertain efforts of the last few years to "Americanize" the millions of unassimilated aliens already here.

PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRATION

The familiar problems of immigration reveal themselves in groups and are readily classified under the headings, Industrial, Political, Social and Religious.

Industries which have been most interested in a steady inflow of aliens are those which require a large unskilled labor force. Immigrants are preferable for such industries, because they have very low standards of living and can be secured at wages so low that workers with American standards of living cannot compete with them in the labor market. Because of their ignorance and lack of skill, immigrants can be employed at hard work, for longer hours under working conditions to which native workers would not submit.

The presence in the country of a large body of workers with low standards of living is detrimental to the interests

²⁰ See E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*.

²¹ J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, pp. 331, 337, 338.

of organized labor.²² Their use as strikebreakers even though it is unprofitable to employers at the time, may, nevertheless, be continued long enough to break the resistance of more highly skilled groups. The only recourse of organized labor under these circumstances is to attempt the organization of the unskilled groups. Such efforts have not been highly successful. Unskilled groups of aliens are organized with difficulty and cannot be depended upon in an economic crisis; when organized, they are prone to fall under the influence of agitators, and are held in the larger organizations of laborers with a degree of uncertainty which renders them of little use to the common cause. Because of their ignorance of the English language and their lack of education generally, they provide a fertile medium for the doctrines of radicalism. The ease with which they may be influenced by skillful agitators causes them to become involved in dangerous movements which tend to cast suspicion upon the efforts of organized labor as a whole. The foes of organized labor are not slow to take advantage of this situation to create a public sentiment hostile to labor which robs it of public sympathy and frequently causes the failure of its legitimate efforts to right economic wrongs and correct abuses.

Democratic institutions depend for their success upon the intelligence and enlightenment of the electorate. In order to be effective, these qualities must be accompanied by an interest in public affairs sufficient to induce participation in their conduct. When municipalities and industrial communities make the experiment of democratic government with a large percentage of alien population, the results are foreordained. The later immigration has come from coun-

²² See I. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor*, Parts I and II, where an effort is made to demonstrate the position held by conservative labor leaders to be fallacious and the case is stated for the immigrant. The best study of the relation between immigration and labor is by W. L. Leiserson, *Adjusting Immigrant and Industry*.

tries where there was a minimum participation of the individual in the affairs of government. The presence of palaces, the pomp of royalty, the armed and uniformed officers for keeping the peace are all associated in the mind with a very definite idea of social control. When the immigrant comes to America he finds an entirely new and unfamiliar system in operation. None of the things associated in his mind with authority are in evidence, except perhaps, the large good-natured policeman who seems never to molest anyone. No one is on hand to instruct him regarding the highly rationalized system of government in operation in the land of his adoption. Someone is on hand, however, to inform him that a powerful and benevolent political machine has taken the place of the privileged ruling class whose tools the officers of government were in his native land. He is further told that in this strange new country, he is permitted to participate in the control of affairs and that the benevolent political machine is not only anxious to have his co-operation but is willing to pay him for it. Furthermore, those in authority are interested in him personally, and in return for his allegiance they are ready to come to his assistance when he gets into trouble of various kinds. This new form of government appeals to him because it works before his eyes and affects him directly. He is not in position to know that his allegiance to the political boss, along with that of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, like him, enables that boss and his associates to corrupt the machinery of democracy, defeat the ends of justice, and exploit society to the limits of passive endurance. The presence of aliens is not the only cause of corruption in politics and government, but it is a most powerful one. In the absence of allegiance to ideals, allegiance to persons or parties is bound to develop. Men were following leaders before the horde replaced the pack. They will probably continue to do so until the end of human society. In the absence of worthy leaders, they follow those who have selfish motives for leading.

The social manifestations of the problem of immigration are a reflex of those already discussed.²³ Due to the differences between the immigrant and the native population, the process of assimilation is slowed up or stopped entirely and alien communities are created by colonization. In these communities an interesting process is going on. The conditions of life and labor are so different from those of the native land that they slowly cease to reflect their native ideals, customs and institutions. Thus they are ceasing to be what they were without a definite trend towards something else. Transition is not taking place or is taking place very slowly, they are simply becoming socially demoralized. Their traditions, their manners and customs, their folk ways, are at present not appreciated or encouraged. In fact, they are frequently causes of derision and ridicule. The social values which inhere in those customs and institutions are in danger of being lost. In the place of them, a cynical and sordid materialism is induced by the centering of their attention and energies upon the struggle for existence which is naturally acute, due to their unfamiliarity with the language and native customs.

The younger generation of aliens takes more readily to the new conditions than do the old. Quickly sophisticated, the youth revolt against parental authority and soon come to look upon the ideas as well as the manners of their elders as old fashioned. Three definite results are apt to follow. Disrespect for parental authority expands into disrespect for all authority, and in the absence of traditional causes for social grouping, the gang habit develops. The percentage and type of crime, among the foreign born and their native-born children, varies considerably, as may be seen by the accompanying table. The fruit of the gang is often lawlessness, and the gunmen, with whom we are only too familiar, are frequently graduates of the gang. At the same time, it is only fair to say that a large proportion of immi-

²³ H. P. Fairchild, *Immigration*.

grants, both first and second generation, are law-abiding citizens, and in spite of very grave difficulties, many of them become, in the best sense, Americanized. Nevertheless, the serious fact remains, that the proportion of lawlessness among immigrants of the second generation is alarmingly high.

PER CENT OF CRIMINALITY AMONG FOREIGN-BORN AND THEIR
NATIVE-BORN CHILDREN

<i>Offenses</i>	<i>Native-born of Foreign Father.</i>		<i>Total Native- born</i>		<i>Foreign-born</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Total	694	100	1326	100	880	100
Gainful Offenses	560	80.7	1043	78.7	589	66.9
Personal Violence	78	11.2	170	12.8	183	20.8
Against Public Policy	41	5.9	89	6.7	82	9.3
Against Chastity	4	.6	9	.7	5	.6
Unclassified	11	1.6	15	1.1	21	2.4

Taken from the Immigration Commissioner's Report for 1911, based on records from October 1, 1908 to June 30, 1909, of the New York Court of General Sessions.

In addition to the lawlessness and immorality which result from this break-down of racial tradition in immigrant communities, there is the cynicism which results from the collapse of idealism. Men will endure distressing conditions indefinitely if buoyed up by the belief in and hope for better things. When, however, experience breaks down confidence in human nature and idealism fades, the individual is ripe for revolt against an intolerable order. The situation waits but the advent of the agitator, obsessed with an idea, to burst forth in violence. The atmosphere of repression under which many of the immigrants lived in their home countries, produces all too many of such agitators.

Against the forces working for social disintegration in alien communities, our traditional machinery for creating responsible citizenship functions improperly or little at all.

The family influence is gone; the schools labor, without the coöperation of the home, against the great difficulty of alien thought and speech, only to surrender their charges half developed and poorly equipped to the vicious influences of the industrial world. As a result, a vast number of the children of the aliens leave school at the end of the grades to enter blind-alley occupations, most of them to remain unskilled and underpaid workers for the rest of their days.²⁴ Many of them are destined to be the first to be laid off at the beginning of financial depression and the last to be employed when prosperity returns.

Not the least important of the factors contributing to the problem of immigration is the extent of spiritual chaos to be found among the alien population of the United States. In the southern and eastern European states, religion plays a much greater rôle in the life of the people than it does to-day in any class of the American population. Home life is dominated by it to a great extent. The priest takes a significant part in most of the important occasions of life,—at births, christenings, marriages, fêtes, sickness and deaths. Its functionaries in ecclesiastical robes are ever present. Monasteries, synagogues, convents, cathedrals, shrines and sacred places are on every hand. From this atmosphere, saturated with religion, the immigrant comes to the easy-going and almost sacrilegious indifference toward religion and things religious, which characterizes American life. After accustoming himself to the fact that the world goes on without any apparent disaster under these conditions, the alien is apt to wonder if he had not been imposed upon in his native land. It is not surprising, under these conditions, that the orthodox religions of the immigrants lose their control over a considerable proportion of their communicants and have increasing difficulty in getting control over the second generation. It is doubtful whether this situation can be relieved to any great extent by missionary effort on the part of

²⁴ G. B. Mangold, *Problems of Child Welfare*, Part IV, chap. III.

American religious bodies. Communicants won away from one sect to another rarely duplicate the devotion of their first affiliation. Many of the immigrants are lost to religious organizations altogether. In emancipating themselves from the customs, traditions and certain of the superstitions of their ancestors, children of the immigrants are apt to confuse religion with the forms or manifestations of it from which they have freed themselves. They consider themselves to be atheists, skeptics or free-thinkers, and deliberately cut themselves off from religious associations and institutions. This break entails a serious social loss which we have had occasion to discuss previously. The support of sanctity and reverence are removed from the family and numerous other institutions and relationships, and many of the immigrants fail to see any reason for their existence.

In view of this survey of the problems growing out of shifts in the population, two things seem to be apparent. First, it is evident that the gravity of the situation is not yet at its height. Exclusion laws may postpone but cannot eventually prevent the further mingling of alien peoples. Second, the instinctive antagonisms brought into play in the situation will, in all probability, long prevent the substitution of rational for the present emotional consideration of the subject.

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IX

TRANSFORMED MEANS OF OBTAINING A LIVELIHOOD

IN primitive society, the size of the group was limited by the amount of food immediately available. Labor consisted in taking raw materials provided by nature and converting them to food uses. Every step which man has taken away from this condition as a result of his developing intelligence has added to his labor and increased the hazards of his existence. Primitive men, like their animal contemporaries, took their food as they found it. All progress in the direction of preparing food and storing up a surplus with a view to making life more secure, produced new hazards to take the place of those man sought to escape. Stored-up food is a temptation to marauding enemies. The loss, destruction, or exhaustion of the store at a time when nature makes no provision entails starvation and death. In the familiar Hebrew story, the first man and woman excluded themselves from a natural state of security by acquiring knowledge. Henceforth, they were to live by labor. Although developing knowledge has freed man from primitive insecurity, it has decreed that security should be maintained at an increasing cost of effort. The domestication of animals, the tilling of the soil, in fact every discovery which provided a more abundant and secure food supply, was followed by an increase in numbers in the group until population once more pressed upon resources. Security was threatened by new dangers. Drought and famine, or pestilence in flocks and herds, meant disaster on a large scale.

CHANGE IN MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

In no field of change is the shift fraught with greater peril to man than in the field of livelihood. Transitions in thought and religion may involve uncertainty and unrest; but man's existence is maintained by his labor. A change in the manner of keeping himself alive, therefore, imperils his life, for, as we have seen, change involves uncertainty,—the experiment may not be successful. Failure means alms or slow starvation.

The industrial revolution was a sociological event of as great significance for humanity as the domestication of animals and the tilling of the soil. At one great stroke man increased his capacity for producing life resources manifold. Poets and dreamers hailed the invention of machinery as the emancipation of man from toil.¹ Instead, it ushered in a new era in which the masses of men were to be made dependent upon toil as never before. Divested of all resources except the ability to labor, man entered into a stage of existence in which the relation between life and labor was closer than before. During the last century and a quarter, there has been a greater change in the means of livelihood than in all previous history.

In order to avoid confusion as much as possible the following outline will be used in analyzing causes and their resultant problems. We shall consider first the problems rising out of the change from agricultural to industrial labor; second, the problems arising from the introduction of machinery; third, problems arising from the exhaustion of a basic resource; fourth, problems arising from fluctuating industrial demands; and fifth, a group of problems arising from the substitution of secondary for primary means of subsistence.

Since we cannot all be hunters or fishermen, agricultural labor of the older type affords man an existence more nearly

¹ G. Wallas, *The Great Society*, chap. I.

like the one in which his mind and body developed than is afforded by any other. His energies are expended in co-operation with natural forces, and nature, like science, rewards her devotees. To the man who is not sunk to the level of the clods of his fields, work with the soil and seeds, the forces of nature, with animals and growing things, affords a stimulation to his mind and soul commensurate with the blessing brought to his body by vigorous exercise in the open air. Even the hearty eating of badly prepared and improperly balanced food, together with the meager comforts of rural life of the older type were not sufficiently detrimental to offset the vigor resulting from this mode of existence. Life was filled with intimate associations. The stock had their well known traits and individuality, and returned a measure of affection for care which robbed labor of its drudgery. The seasons of the year brought a pleasing round of variety in labor which filled the future with events to be anticipated.²

THE SHIFT FROM AGRICULTURAL TO INDUSTRIAL LABOR

The shift from agricultural to industrial modes of existence means a substitution of conditions of life and labor which are artificial in the extreme for those which, however hard, are natural. The change is reflected in the character and amount of work, in the standard of living, social habits, physical and spiritual health, in the relation of the worker to his tools and products, and in his attitude toward his toil.

In the matter of hours of labor, the toiler in almost any modern industry has a shorter day than does his agricultural contemporary. The reason for this lies in the idea that "chores," the routine care of barnyard animals including milking the cows and caring for the milk, must be done before beginning the day's work and after it is finished. This

² Note a passage strikingly similar to this paragraph in F. Tannenbaum *The Labor Movement*, chap. I, which did not come to the writer's attention until many months after this was written.

necessitates early rising and work after supper. The length of the "working day" between chores is determined by the time of the year and the character of the job on hand. Usually work starts at seven o'clock in the morning and stops at six at night with an hour for dinner at noon. In the winter, the "working day" is much shorter; but in the summer harvest, it may be from sunrise to sunset. Even in the winter, when darkness makes it impossible to work in the fields much before eight in the morning or after four in the afternoon, the hours of rising and retiring remain the same as in summer mainly from force of habit. The introduction of much farm machinery has affected these hours as has the specialization of farm production, but for a period of fifty years in the newer parts of the country to a hundred years or more in other parts, these were the fixed hours of rural labor. To workers accustomed to the eight hour day, the above schedule sounds like drudgery. The farmer did not think of it as such. The reason for this lies in the character of the work on hand. He was always engaged in some specific task which was to be definitely finished at a given time. Plowing gave way to preparing the soil for planting. Planting was followed by a period of waiting for the growing crop to be far enough along to cultivate. When the cultivation was finished the harvesting of grain began. Following another period of waiting, the grain was threshed and then the fall planting and the harvest of the late crops ushered in the long slack period of winter. Wood cutting, fence fixing, trips to town for supplies or the marketing of farm produce, with many other odd jobs occupied the time between definite tasks as well as rainy days. With all, there was a considerable amount of flexibility regarding the time of beginning a job and ending it, with the exception of harvesting highly perishable crops. There was plenty of time for social life at odd times through the year and considerable periods for merry-making after the harvest season and during the winter. Everything considered, rural work

was really far from drudgery. The lot of the rural worker was far from sordid or monotonous.

In comparison with the above picture, let us survey the lot of the industrial laborer. In the first place, he has little to do in the way of chores. A few things have to be done before he goes to work and after work. He faces the necessity, however, of getting to his place of work at a certain time, and if the distance traversed is considerable he must rise at a fairly early hour. He then begins a particular kind of work which continues indefinitely. He is working not to the end of a job, but with a view to putting in a given number of hours. After a hurried lunch, he takes up the same task and works until the arrival of quitting time. The next day, he repeats the performance, and the next, and the next. During the working period, he works at top speed at labor which wearies either with the rigor of the toil, or the monotony of repetition. When the end of the work period comes, he is weary in mind and body and not in position or condition to compensate himself adequately with recreation or diversion before he must retire for the night to refresh himself for the next day's toil. Into the few hours after work, the week-end, and occasional holidays he must crowd attention to his own affairs which consist mainly of seeking in one way or another to break up the monotony of his life with recreation of a highly artificial and unsatisfying character. In the place of the flexibility of his rural comrade's task, he has the rigidity both of his work and his leisure. Into this he must fit himself. Time taken from work for personal uses involves loss of income. On account of the painfully close relation between the standard of living and the size of the pay check, leisure secured in this manner is too expensive a luxury to be indulged in.

This brings us logically to the consideration of the second result of the shift from agricultural to industrial modes of labor. The farmer is not conscious of a "standard of living." He has what he wants in the matter of food and

conveniences. There is no close relation between the satisfaction of needs and a cash income. The standard of living of the industrial worker is determined by the amount of money in the pay envelope. Out of this must come, first, those things which are absolutely necessary to the existence of himself and his family. If there is anything left after these have been provided, the next outlay is for increased comforts, and after these come "luxuries,"—so-called, not because of their uselessness or frivolity, but because they can be dispensed with if need be. Numerous studies of working men's budgets and standards of living have revealed that among the things which most workmen are forced to dispense with as luxuries are provision for sickness, accident, and old age, together with all but absolutely emergency medical care, and the services of dentists, oculists, and other specialists.³ Too frequently, proper choice or amount of food is not classified under the head of necessities.

Not until grave problems arising in urban communities forced themselves upon the attention of the public, did men become aware that there was a close relation between social habits and the family income. As we discovered in the analysis of urban neighborhood problems, there is little or no natural social life in city neighborhoods. Local and natural opportunities for spending leisure time in recreation and diversion not being present, the city dweller is at the mercy of interests which commercialize his need. The home, through force of necessity, is too small to permit much social intercourse. Social life, therefore, must center around public places. This of necessity robs the patrons of these places of the choice of the character or amount of leisure-time activity. To escape from these conditions, numerous groups resort to communal activities such as clubs

³ L. B. Moore, *Wage Earner's Budgets*, chaps. I, VI, IX; R. C. Chapin, *The Standard of Living*, pp. 245-250; J. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency*, pp. 30, 31, 32; and E. T. Devine, *The Principles of Relief*, pp. 23-34.

and societies of many varieties. Failing adequate leadership or supervision, these may develop undesirable if not dangerous characteristics. More mature individuals, especially working men, escape expense by taking advantage of facilities afforded by commercial enterprises, such as card rooms in connection with saloons, pool-rooms, bowling alleys, etc.

At this point the reader, no doubt, is making the mental comment that we are describing the social life of tenement districts. The description holds good with gradations of improvement in surroundings and the character of diversions as you pass to higher and higher levels of economic well being. With the exception of a relatively small intellectual class, practically all city dwellers who depend upon their own labor for their existence, lead a more or less aimless existence, living socially as well as culturally from hand to mouth.⁴

Adding to the abnormality of the distressing conditions described above, are the repressions of normal instincts, due to the hold-over of traditional religious and social ideas of conduct. Not infrequently, when opportunity offers for relaxation and diversion, hosts of unemancipated beings deny themselves true recreation because of a passionate desire to be virtuous or because of a vague fear of appearing to be otherwise. Not infrequently, a revolt against prudery leads to an effort to appear unconventional or "bad" which, by reason of inexperience, produces conduct more grotesque than dangerous. These efforts to compensate for repressed desires are followed by self chastisement and anguish of spirit, which are followed in turn by renewed resolve to return to the straight and narrow way. In this resolve, the "sinners" are encouraged by their fellows unless their "fall from grace" has been too serious to be condoned. In such

⁴ Although perhaps exaggerated, as is the case with all caricature, Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* is a reflection of the lives of multitudes of business and professional men.

an event, the wayward ones are barred from "communion with the saints" and, finally convinced that they are bad, they learn to be so.⁵

It is but a step from the consideration of social life to that of physical and psychic health. In nature's scheme of things, either the business of life provided the necessary amount of bodily and mental exercise, or leisure furnished antidotes in play, festivity and religious ceremony in which practically all members of the group indulged. As man passed from primitive conditions to the more highly developed activities of advancing civilization, this relationship between physical activities and spiritual things persisted. There is a sacredness about productive toil. The imparting of self to the product of one's labor has always had religious associations. From very early times, the fruits of labor, whether handwork or harvest, were considered the gifts of the gods. The fertility of the soil, the increase of the flocks, the abundance of fish and game as well as the finished products of manual skill, were the results of divine opulence. These concepts were held in common by primitive man and his more civilized successors. Work, play and worship were normally conducive to physical and psychic health. The industrial revolution was a severe blow to religion in that it was destined to rob toil of its sacredness. In the separation of religion from livelihood, religion lost one of its greatest allies and was removed in great part from daily experience. Both toil and religion suffer from this divorce. Religion loses much of its vital contact with life and toil takes on more and more the aspect of drudgery. It is not by accident that the defection of toilers from the church is conspicuous.

Toil retained much of its psychological attractiveness even in the domestic system preceding the industrial revolution, mainly because the worker performed practically the whole of the manufacturing operation. He therefore shared with

⁵ See G. Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 62-65.

his agricultural brother the satisfaction of doing a good piece of work and glorying in his finished product.⁶ The specialization of labor in the modern industrial system has changed all this. The result is shown in physical and spiritual ill health. The relation between highly specialized forms of industry and ill health is well known. The relation between the specialization of industry and psychic ill health is not so well understood but it is just as vital. Our civilization presents the spectacle of an intellectual system which bends its efforts in many directions to make men think and an industrial system which, apart from the exercise of alertness and a certain amount of skill, tends to make man's mind a blank during the working day.⁷

Now, intellectual development necessitates leisure for thought. During that leisure, there must be a certain amount of physical and mental vigor. If these conditions are not present, the thought processes and their influence on subsequent conduct will be abnormal. Most laborers have little opportunity to think while working and are too tired to think healthful thoughts while idle. If hysterical and artificial diversions do not appeal to the more serious minded worker, a considerable part of his leisure time is apt to be spent in definitely unhealthful ways. He may get his compensations in fanatical or reactionary religious contemplation, or occupy his leisure in brooding upon his wrongs and devising schemes for righting them. Under these circumstances, wrongs have a way of growing to distorted proportions and much of the thinking in the direction of righting them takes on a hostile, resentful and vengeful aspect. The personal affairs of the individual having gone awry, he is apt to swing to the broad conclusion of universal social disorder and assume a sceptical if not a hostile attitude toward society as a whole. He is now a thor-

⁶ T. Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship*. Intro and chap. VII.

⁷ A. Pound, *The Iron Man in Industry*, chap. III.

oughly sick man both in mind and in soul. It is hard to conceive of an individual in this condition being a satisfactory and efficient member of the social body. A man cannot remain long in this state of mind, without having his grudge take definite form. Quite naturally, in the vast majority of cases, dissatisfaction crystallizes around the economic system or the economic system in conjunction with the political.

The resultant attitude toward toil is in itself abnormal. In the nature of things, toil should not be distasteful. The labor of man is inherited from the common labors of food getting, home-making and young-raising of his remote animal ancestors. Laziness is but the result of an abnormal condition of man's organism or of the lack of an interesting job. Work is not disagreeable if it is interesting. Work is interesting if it is creative or in some way connected with one's own plans and interests. Much of modern industrial toil is robbed of all of these elements; the only incentive remaining is the necessity of one's self and one's dependents to maintain a certain accepted standard of living which, with many, means little more than bare existence. If one has no dependents and has broken all social connections, the attitude of the hobo becomes understandable. An English Socialist congratulated himself during the war that he was in America and escaped conscription. "Would you not fight to save England from the Germans?" I asked. He replied, "It makes no difference to me whom I work for. I would as soon work for the Kaiser as for the King." A "wobbler" on another occasion said, "A man must have a job once in a while to keep himself alive. If a man does more than that, he merely helps to make some other man rich." To the worker divested of all ownership in tools and finished product, not caring whether the work is well or ill, and driven only by cruel necessity, toil becomes drudgery to the *n*th degree.⁸

⁸ C. Parker, *The Casual Laborer*.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE INTRODUCTION
OF MACHINERY

While society as a whole may have benefited immensely by the introduction of machinery in industry, working men have been imperilled every time a machine has been invented to do the work of hands. The reason is obvious. On each such occasion the hands displaced have been forced to seek and adapt themselves to other forms of toil. Again, every time a machine has been perfected to do the work of many hands, the demand for the work of hands has been temporarily lessened thereby. We have previously discussed the problems arising from the introduction of machinery in the beginning of the industrial revolution. The introduction of machinery in one field after another has continued to create problems from that time until the present. The process goes steadily on.⁹

We have here one of the more important causes of the depopulation of rural districts. Every improvement in farm machinery which enabled one man to do the work formerly done by several, has increased the exodus from the country to the towns. Take for illustration the changes in the method of harvesting grain, within the memory of many persons still living. When the harvesting of a large field of wheat began, a group of cradlers moved slowly along the edge of the field, their rhythmic swings of the cradle depositing the cut grain in little heaps beside them as they proceeded. Behind them came the rakers to rake several of these little heaps together to be bound in sheaves by the group of binders who came behind them. Following the binders, came other men to set the bundles together in "shocks" to protect the grain from the rain against the time of threshing. Threshing was accomplished by beating

⁹ See the classic criticism in Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*. See also the brilliant article by J. M. Clark, "The Empire of Machines," in *Yale Review*, Oct., 1922.

the heads of the bundles with flails to remove the grain and by throwing grain and chaff into the air in a wind strong enough to blow the chaff away. The first great innovation came in the form of a mowing machine drawn by horses, a machine almost identical with the modern mower, with a platform behind the cutting-bar to hold the grain. A raker followed along or rode on the machine, who raked the cut grain from the platform when enough had accumulated for a bundle. Behind the machine followed the binders and shockers but many cradlers and rakers were displaced. An improvement appeared in an automatic raker attached to the machine. The next innovation was a reaper with a movable rack behind the cutting bar which dropped its accumulation of grain at the will of the driver of the machine. The advantage of this reaper over the old raking machine lay in the fact that the little heaps of grain were much more symmetrical and could be more rapidly bound, thus dispensing with some of the binders. Next came the sweeping innovation of the self-binder with its wide sickle bar which did the work of nearly two old-fashioned reapers and displaced the binders altogether. The machine was still followed by carriers and shockers. The addition of an automatic carrier displaced all the workers who followed the machine except the shockers, who, as a result of the bundles being left in convenient heaps of the right number, did their work rapidly. Similar innovations occurred in the threshing of the grain until finally great power machines combined the cutting and threshing of the grain in one great operation. A small group of men with one of these machines now does the work formerly done by hundreds. The same story could be told of plowing and preparing the soil and planting the seed. The results were inevitable. Either larger areas of land came under cultivation or smaller numbers of men were able to cultivate the land formerly tilled by many. Those displaced went West and took up new land or went to the towns. With the occupa-

tion of most of the available land, the stream was diverted to the towns almost entirely. Certain definite results of the introduction of agricultural machinery are noticeable in the remaining rural populations.

The intelligent and progressive farmer quickly adopted the new labor-saving devices, and by means of them was enabled to increase the amount of his holdings. Farm labor gradually changed to include workers who understood machinery and could operate it and keep it in order. The "hired hand," on the large Western farms, at least, now becomes a mechanic instead of a man of all work.

At this point, one gets something of an insight into the nature of the farmer's problem of securing farm labor under the new conditions. The new type of skilled laborer whose attitude toward the job is that of the city or factory laborer insists upon a day of from eight to ten hours instead of the old "daylight-till-dark" arrangement with "chores" before and after. He demands a mechanic's wage instead of the "forty a month and keep" of the old times. Another consequence of this new type of agriculture is the employment of a considerable number of casuals in the harvesting of certain crops. When this occurs, the problems of industrial production are introduced into rural communities. With the passing of the older type of "farm hand" the farmer has come to depend more and more upon employing a mechanic occasionally for the duration of a certain type of work upon his farm. This mechanic is frequently secured through a city employment bureau and, more often than otherwise, he is a man of urban habits and outlook. As a result, the monotony of rural life and the plainness and inconvenience of rural living quarters which are not infrequently in the barn, soon become intolerable, and the man does not stay long on the job. Interest in the work and an understanding of the rural viewpoint are, therefore, next to impossible, so that the "casual" element is almost inseparable from rural labor under the circumstances.

In competition with the progressive farmer, the one who continued to work his holdings by antiquated methods finds himself at an ever-increasing disadvantage. His unprofitable methods make it impossible for him to keep his farm up and in order, and he sinks back to a level where his operations produce a bare existence with the hardest of toil for himself and his family. Dilapidated farm buildings, antiquated tools, inferior stock and run down or exhausted soil characterize the holdings of the farmer who fails to keep step with rural progress. Under these conditions, he rears a family at a disadvantage and contributes little or nothing to the social or cultural life of his community.

Improvement and invention have also gone on apace within the factory system itself. Factory workers are being forced constantly to adapt themselves to new working conditions as a result of the installation of new mechanical devices. Here, again, we have a form of change which has its definite social, economic and spiritual results. When the introduction of new mechanical devices displaces skilled laborers the effects are all the more pronounced. Here, as in all other forms of change, certain numbers adapt themselves by learning to operate new machines or by changing to some other occupation, and are no worse for the transition. Others make adjustments with difficulty, and still others have their earning ability definitely lowered. All social workers who deal with families know the disastrous consequences of an enforced lowering of the standard of living. Not infrequently, the displaced skilled worker is of a mature age and therefore not able to acquire a new trade or make the necessary adaptation to the new conditions of his old job. In a majority of such cases the lowering of his income affects a family. Efforts to meet the situation result in familiar conditions which we have already discussed. The wife and the older children enter the industrial field to supplement the reduced earnings of the breadwinner.¹⁰

¹⁰ G. B. Mangold, *Problems of Child Welfare*, p. 274.

Certain unfortunate social consequences of this reversal of family fortunes are inevitable.

Much has been said in recent years about the disastrous effects upon the worker of fitting the man to the machine. Every change which lessens the participation of the mind and skill of the operative in his work, adds to the deadening effect of the labor. The constant tendency in modern industry has been toward increase of profits by quantity production. This has brought about the specialization of machinery for producing parts with speed. As a result, the participation of the operative in the process has steadily become more and more monotonous. A machine operative in a great manufacturing plant once handed the writer a small bit of metal. It was about a sixteenth of an inch in thickness, half an inch wide and about an inch and a half long. The corners were rounded at each end. At one end, there was a slight increase in width to allow for a hole through the metal about three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. In reply to my inquiry as to the nature of the object the workman replied, "That is my job." Fancy standing at a machine which, in three operations, produced that object, endlessly repeating for eight or nine hours a day, day in, day out, indefinitely. No wonder if the operator when at liberty, seeks diversion from that deadly monotony in an effort to find compensations for his suppressed instincts, his unused muscles and his dulled intellect.¹¹

EXHAUSTION OF BASIC RESOURCES

Another form of the change of livelihood affecting large groups of persons is becoming increasingly common wherever the growth of capitalism has developed certain industries upon a large scale. This change, affecting not only the workers but the entire population of large districts, comes about as a result of the exhaustion of basic economic

¹¹ A. Pound, *The Iron Man in Industry*, chap. III.

resources. Large scale exploitation of natural resources such as lumber, oil, natural gas, coal and minerals tends to do two things. It gathers a considerable population as a result of the labor and business opportunities created. In a short time, prosperous communities develop and equip themselves with the customary machinery for carrying on the business of social life. Schools and churches are constructed and the usual small trades of a population develop in addition to the major industries of the district. While this process is taking place, the limited supply of the natural resource responsible for the growth of the population is being used up. Presently, the supply of raw material or of fuel gives out, and the major industry collapses. The exploiting capital is withdrawn and employed elsewhere, leaving the greater portion of the population without a means of self support. The process of depopulation of the district, already described, in the preceding analysis of rural problems, begins with an overwhelming exodus of the foot-loose and enterprising population. The small property holders and tradesmen extricate themselves from the situation with difficulty and financial loss, and the churches, the schools, and social life collapse to miserable remnants of their former prosperous condition. Feeble efforts in the direction of development of industry along other lines occur from time to time and cause this wretched remnant of population to hold on desperately while sinking slowly into backwoods or pioneer conditions or while assuming the characteristics of backward or semi-abandoned rural districts.

In some of these communities, such as cut-over timber tracts, the discovery of mineral or other resources may lead to the reinvestment of capital in exploitation and the process begins over again. In some instances, where no new resources are developed, the district remains desolate indefinitely or waits the slow and arduous process of reclamation for agricultural purposes. Not infrequently, the

clearing of the land costs as much or more than the land is worth, a condition which insures a long period of crude and unprofitable agricultural maintenance for a sparse population. This population develops a fragmentary social intercourse and is served by defective social machinery in the form of school and church.

A similar situation occurs in more advanced communities as the result of great industrial changes. A well known illustration is found in the history of the New England coast communities which prospered in the whaling and fishing days, which were also days when the world's commerce was carried in wooden ships. The development of the great Atlantic ports, the coming of steel ships and the decline of the fishing industries caused many of these old thriving communities to fall into decay. The quickening life of another industrial era came through the expansion of manufacturing with its large numbers of foreign workers. Communities which were the centers of the oldest American traditions and institutions have become the storm centers of industrial and immigration problems.

INTERMITTENT DEMANDS FOR LABOR

Many groups of workers are kept in a constant state of uncertainty as a result of the intermittent demands for labor which characterize a considerable number of industries. These may be grouped roughly under three heads as follows: in one group may be classified all of those industries which are subject to seasonal fluctuations in their demands for labor; in a second group those industries not seasonal, but in which the intermittent demand is inherent. Third, we have a group of industries which cater to fads, fashions, whims and fancies of the general population. Some industries may overlap and be influenced by two of the above sets of phenomena.

Conspicuous examples of the seasonal type are found in the fuel business which flourishes in the winter and the ice

business which is accelerated by hot weather. Many other industries show the seasonal influence to a less conspicuous degree, such as the building trades, painting and decorating, and harvesting various crops. Most conspicuous of all, perhaps, is the clothing industry which has long been the storm center of labor trouble, due to pronounced seasonal fluctuations in its labor needs. The lumber industry in the northern states is distinctly seasonal, wherever the logging operations are hampered by snow. As a result of seasonal occupations, unemployment is at its height in the winter months in almost all parts of the United States.¹²

Most conspicuous among the industries which present an intermittent demand for labor apart from seasonal influences is the handling of cargoes of ships. The great freight carriers are under the necessity of spending as little time as possible in taking on and discharging cargo. As soon as the vessel sails this force of workmen is idle until the next ship arrives. The idleness resulting from the provision of this reserve labor force required by the industry produces a serious problem in every important port.

Intermittent employment of labor is conspicuous in practically all industries which cater to whimsical demands. Styles in clothing and wearing apparel are responsible for no small amount of fluctuation. Manufacturers hold up their operations as long as possible to ascertain what styles are going to be popular. As soon as prevailing tendencies are manifested, the industries affected rush overtime to supply the demand and exploit the prevailing fashion as much as possible before it passes out of vogue. This means periods of slack work or actual idleness followed by periods of intensive employment with much overtime. These conditions are still more conspicuous in all industries which manufacture novelties. For some inexplicable reason, an

¹² H. R. Seager, *Social Insurance*, pp. 88 ff. See also, E. T. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, pp. 131-134, and N. Anderson, *The Hobo*, chap. V.

unimportant object "makes a hit," and almost instantly the demand for it is tremendous. No manufacturer knows when this is going to occur. The result is the frantic effort to increase the labor force and the manufacturing facilities in order to make the most of the fleeting opportunity. Even then the utmost care must be exercised not to get the supply far ahead of the demand, lest the sudden passing of the popular fancy leave the manufacturer with large quantities of the unmarketable objects upon his hands. As a consequence, when the demand does cease, the entire force, hastily assembled for the emergency, is disbanded, and such equipment as cannot be turned to other uses is scrapped.

The vexing problems created by all industries of this character occupy the attention of social workers, local officials, employers, economists and statesmen. The records of relief-giving organizations testify to the frequency with which irregular employment is the cause of temporary dependency.¹³ Various students of vagrancy have called our attention to the part which irregular employment plays in producing the itinerant laborer and the out and out tramp. The insecurity of the existence of the unskilled worker who depends for a livelihood upon intermittent demands for his labor makes the establishment of a home and the rearing of a family a hazardous undertaking. Failure of the local labor market and the information that demands for labor exist in other communities, sometimes at a great distance, lead to the momentous venture of the breadwinner leaving his family temporarily in the hope of securing employment elsewhere. The separation is often undertaken reluctantly with the firm intention to return as soon as local labor conditions improve, or, having secured a good job in his new location, to send for his family and establish himself there. All too frequently, the supposed demand for labor proves to have been only a rumor. The unfortunate workman finds difficulty in getting enough odd

¹³ E. T. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, p. 230 and Diagram 17.

jobs to keep himself alive. To send for his family or send money back to them proves impossible. He is reluctant to return to the hopeless situation which he has left behind. After a time, he hears that his family is being supported in part or entirely by charity. After a period of growing bitterness and resentment, he drops from sight and the charity organization handling the case reports another family desertion.

Men who have broken their family connections and others who have never established any, wander about from one part of the country to another, working intermittently at seasonal or other occasional occupations. Finally becoming accustomed to having no fixed place of abode and no continuous contact with the comforts and conveniences of a well ordered existence, they sever all connections with organized society. During the pleasant seasons of the year, they gather in labor camps when occupied and in "hobo" camps when idle. As bad weather comes on, they gravitate to the towns and hibernate in cheap lodging-houses, municipal establishments for vagrants, missions, various types of charitable resorts for men, and in city and county jails. Wherever they gather together, there is much talk of social injustice, exploitation, and the radical or revolutionary readjustment of the economic and social order. The repressed egos of the more forceful find compensation in threatening dire things and occasional acts of sabotage. They strike terror into the hearts of local officials and are a bugbear to great employers of labor.¹⁴

Here, again, we have been dealing with a phase of shift in the means of livelihood. It is inevitable that the constant uncertainty of occupation, the constant changes in the form of occupation, as well as the enforced periods of idleness, should combine to make more insecure the lives of a group of laborers already inefficient. The more resourceful and

¹⁴ See C. Parker, *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays*, chap. III. Also T. Veblen, *The Engineers and the Price System*, pp. 83-91.

capable, for the greater part, find steady means of self support. These unfavorable conditions described press down upon a group ill fitted to bear up under them.¹⁵

EFFECTS OF TRANSITION TO SECONDARY FOOD SUPPLIES

The passing of a large number of persons from rural to urban modes of life, and incidentally, from a system of self-support by independent production to a wage-earning system, involves the problems arising from the transition of a population from primary to secondary means of subsistence.

Primitive populations and their rural successors produced the bulk of the things which satisfied their needs. In spite of the development of trade, until less than two generations ago, the rural inhabitants of America also produced most of the commodities which met their requirements. Food, clothing, fuel and shelter were mainly the fruits of their own labor. With the shift from the rural to the urban mode of life, a steadily increasing number of individuals pass into the wage-earning classes and exchange their earnings for the necessities of life which are produced by others, usually at a considerable distance. This use of secondary food supplies presents two forms of difficulty: first, those arising from time and distance; second, those arising from human greed.

Land and water are at present the only sources of food. The prospect of producing synthetic food is too remote for serious consideration. Primitive man and his agricultural and seafaring successors remained in close contact with the natural sources of their supplies. The injection of the element of time between the production of raw foods and their consumption involves problems varying with the character of the commodity. Highly perishable foods, such as fresh fruits and vegetables, deteriorate rapidly, and, if kept

¹⁵ E. T. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, p. 131.

too long in transition from producer to consumer, undergo changes which render them unfit for use. Low income groups who need this form of food badly cannot afford the fresher and higher priced qualities and are forced to do without or be content with inferior or stale produce to the detriment of their health. Efforts to escape from these conditions by packing or preserving fruits and vegetables increase their cost and decrease their food values. The gradual curtailment of domestic activity among city dwellers generally has led to the increase of commercial activity in the preparation of foods for use which used to be a part of the activity of the housewife. Unfortunately, many of the commercial processes of preparing foods add tremendously to the cost to the consumer and nothing to the food value of the commodity, and not infrequently detract from them. Old-fashioned home-made bread made from whole or nearly whole wheat flour represented the maximum food value. Every step in the direction of fineness and whiteness of the flour or the bread is at the expense of food value and the health of the consumer.

The time element in the problem of secondary food supplies is further complicated by the handling and storage of commodities which are not perishable. Raw materials are transported long distances for storage or manufacture. In obedience to demands or fluctuating prices, they may later be carried back to some point near the place of their origin and sold to the consumer at greatly enhanced cost, although little or nothing has been added to their food value. Every act of handling and every process of manufacture widens the gap between producer and consumer to the detriment of both. Where the point of origin of the commodity is remote from the point of consumption, the expense of transportation is unavoidable.

Many of the problems mentioned above are aggravated by human greed. Every agency which has anything to do with the food supply between the producer and the consumer must

exact a profit on its transaction in addition to the costs of the operation performed or the service rendered. All activity of a useless character, *i. e.*, that indulged in for the purpose of making money without adding to the service value of the commodity, is in the nature, therefore, of a direct exploitation of the consumer. In this same category are to be mentioned the use of substitutions, adulterations, artificial coloring matter and preservatives. Needless to say, the consumer is the victim of all such practices. Defective processes of preservation or over speculation in stored commodities may lead to the spoiling of immense quantities of food. Unscrupulous packers or dealers often succeed in unloading such useless and dangerous stocks upon the unsuspecting public in spite of most watchful officials. Not infrequently, the government itself is imposed upon. The scandals connected with the furnishing of army and departmental supplies are often redolent both in peace and war. Greed is unsocial, if not anti-social, even in the face of a crisis.

As a result of the commercial activities of the industries concerned with the production of secondary means of subsistence, even the rural districts are invaded. The farmer sells his cattle and hogs to the buyer and gets trust beef, bacon and hams from the village butcher, who has become but a retailer of packer meat. He sells his milk and cream to the creamery or sends his butter to the city dweller and uses condensed milk in his coffee and spreads butter substitutes on his bread. He sometimes even dispenses with his garden and buys canned tomatoes, peas, beans, corn, and other fruits and vegetables from the village grocer.

The attention of the reader has been called already to the effect upon the standard of living of the inflexible pay envelope. All of the wastes and unmerited profits taken in providing the city worker with his means of subsistence take from the weekly wage money badly needed for other things. There is a decided question as to the ethics of speculation in

food supplies. All transactions in food materials designed for profit and adding nothing to the value of the commodity to the consumer are even more definitely unethical and unsocial.

SUMMARY

This analysis indicates the many types of problems which arise as a result of changes or instability in the means of livelihood. We have seen how the change from agricultural to industrial labor reacts unfavorably on the worker's standard of living. Its effects were seen in unnatural social habits and in physical and spiritual ill health, as well as in the resultant abnormal attitude toward work.

The introduction of machinery was found to have its reaction in rural life and industry. The constant utilization of new and improved mechanical devices was shown to result in economic, social and psychological problems among the displaced workers. Attention has also been drawn to the demoralizing influence of the industrial changes which tend to fit the workman more and more closely to the machine.

The increase in the scale of capitalistic production of wealth was shown to produce distinct problems by the exhaustion of basic economic resources. These problems appear in abandoned towns and communities, in the readjustment of lingering populations to other types of exploitation, and in the slow reclamation of certain semi-abandoned districts along primitive agricultural lines with consequent unsatisfactory social conditions.

Industries making intermittent demands for labor increased the instability of the lot of the unskilled worker. These, together with those industries which required a reserve supply of labor constantly on hand, were shown to aggravate the problems of unemployment, dependency, and family desertion as well as to have a definite part in produc-

ing vagrants and casual industrial workers with anti-social habits and radical tendencies.

The transition from primary to secondary means of subsistence accompanies the transition to a money wage. This induces, in addition to the necessary costs of transportation, handling, treatment, and preservation of foods in transit from the producer to the consumer, the costs resulting from manipulation of various kinds with a view to profit as well as the illegitimate practices of adulteration, substitution, and the use of artificial preservatives and coloring matter detrimental to health. In other words, this transition injects the familar problems of impure foods and the much discussed "spread" between the producer and consumer.

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X

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH IN INDUSTRY

Forty years ago scarcely anyone foresaw the extent to which our natural resources would be transformed into free wealth. Still less did anyone foresee the extent to which that free wealth would come under the control of single individuals or small groups of men. Quite naturally, then, the problems arising from the creation and concentration of vast sums of capital and their employment in industry are, for the greater part, new problems. To be sure, many of the familiar social problems are accentuated by the new conditions, but it is the problems due mainly to the concentration of wealth in industry that we shall attempt to analyze in this chapter. These may be divided into the following five groups: first, the problems characteristic of purely industrial communities; second, the social results of the elimination of the small capitalist; third, the results of the struggle between great groups of financiers for the control of particular industries; fourth, the resulting monopoly and its social consequences; and, fifth, the social consequences of the creation of artificial demands with a view to increasing profits.

PROBLEMS OF PURELY INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITIES

A brief analysis of a normal city population will make clear the artificial nature of the purely industrial community.¹ For many years students of social phenomena have been accustomed to divide a normal population into upper, middle, and lower classes. Although this terminol-

¹ For an interesting discussion see G. Taylor, *Satellite Cities*.

ogy has become distasteful as a result of the democratic revolt against aristocratic control, no satisfactory substitutes have received the sanction of common usage. The classification is still satisfactory if a division on the basis of economic well-being is intended. For our purposes, however, we shall include in the basis of grouping a number of factors other than economic. By whatever names the groups may be called, the threefold division fits the facts which we are to consider.

A typical upper class in a normal aggregation of considerable size is composed of a relatively small group of persons who are possessors, or the satellites of the possessors, of great wealth. By reason of wealth they have a somewhat different attitude toward the community from that of the rest of the population. Freedom to travel about at will and business and social interests in other communities have given them a cosmopolitan relation to their place of most permanent abode which is distinct from that of the persons who have no great interests outside of their own community. As a consequence many of them do not take an intimate interest in community affairs apart from those which especially affect their social set, their business, or their pet philanthropies. They usually have little interest in civic affairs and do not participate in politics, except in the interest of their own enterprises. Educating their children mainly in private schools, they pay little attention to public education. On account of their detachment from the normal life of the community, they are in a measure freed from the restraints of public opinion. They cultivate music and the arts carefully and not infrequently ostentatiously within the relatively small circle of their intimates.²

If, however, the description of the upper class were to stop at this point an injustice would be done to its members, and important social factors would be overlooked. A lingering sense of social responsibility and stewardship of their

² T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.

wealth leads to conspicuous benefactions of a community character. As monuments to the memory of themselves or their kindred, and not infrequently as a result of a genuine love of their fellow-men, they build and endow libraries, hospitals, colleges and universities, public parks and other types of public equipment. Whatever the motives may be which prompt these benefactions, the community is abundantly enriched by them. Nor must it be forgotten that the upper class has furnished many public spirited and intelligent leaders, who have used their superior opportunities whole-heartedly for the general good.

The middle class has vague lines of demarcation. Although the members of this class are not rich in the sense which applies to the members of the group just described, they, as a group, are possessed of a considerable degree of economic well being. While not wealthy, they are able, largely as a result of their own efforts, to gratify a wide range of wholesome desires. Their standards of well being are not conditioned entirely by economic considerations. They have many social and spiritual compensations which are in a considerable measure free from financial limitations. Because of the relative ease with which the members of this group dominate their individual situations they have a considerable surplus of time, energy and intelligence which is frequently devoted to the common good. The greater part of social service is performed by them. They support the public schools, do most of the work of religion, and, in the various professional groups, render the greater part of that public service for which the public is not accustomed to pay. They hold public officials up to their tasks so far as this is done, and prevent the too brazen exploitation of the public by politicians and unsocial financial interests. They act as a check on indecency and crime, and insist on a certain measure of public order and respectability. Sometimes, unfortunately, the love of respectability degenerates into hypocrisy and prudery, and the passion for law and

order into an intolerant conformity. From this group are recruited most of the public servants,—the teachers and the clergy, professional men and women who put professional ethics above financial gain, and the greater part of all public officials who are not contaminated by political interests or personal selfishness. Nor must we omit from this grouping those leaders in industry and commerce who look upon business as service to the community rather than a means of private gain. As a group, the middle class preserves and stabilizes the social order.³

There remains, in addition to the two groups described above, a third group larger by far than either of the others. It is composed of all those whose economic situation is such that the struggle for existence leaves no surplus either of time or energy. The task of keeping themselves alive absorbs their entire attention. They are the workers who make no contribution to society beyond the tremendously important fruits of their toil. In return for this service they receive little more than a mere existence. Passing up the mooted question of the ability of this group to handle their own or society's affairs, the fact remains that most of their larger contacts with society are for and not by them. Nor are we concerned here with the reasons for this state of affairs.

In the light of this analysis of a normal aggregation of people, what are the abnormal conditions which characterize the purely industrial community? As certain of the great manufacturing industries began to assume their present gigantic proportions they outgrew their cramped quarters within the confines of cities. The rapid growth of cities was also partly responsible for the situation. Plants which years before were located on the outskirts of towns found themselves engulfed by the growth of population. Two results follow. Space for expansion of the plants was not available except at prohibitive prices, and the increased

³ J. Corbin, *The Return of the Middle Class*, chap. XIII.

values of the factory sites caused taxes to mount to such proportions as to affect profits. To escape from these conditions great industries began moving from their cramped quarters in the cities to favorable locations in the open country. The setting up of extensive plants at a considerable distance from the centers of population necessitated the provision of some kind of accommodations for their labor force. The result was the appearance of improvised towns composed almost entirely of working men's quarters, which were grouped about the industrial site. Thus, within a surprisingly short period of time, enormous aggregations of laborers spring up in districts which for many years are destined to be given over entirely to industrial purposes.⁴ In response to the needs of these artificially created populations rudimentary forms of business develop which do not go much beyond supplying the ordinary wants of a group composed almost entirely of laborers.

Conditions almost identical with those described above occur where new districts are opened up by large scale exploitation of some great natural resource. The combination of a cheap fuel supply, accessible basic materials for manufacture and a convenient arrangement of transportation facilities results in the development of what seem to be endless series of these industrial aggregations covering a wide stretch of territory. More recently the development of entirely new enterprises in virgin territory often creates teeming industrial communities by the initial investment of capital amounting to staggering sums where waste lands or wilderness existed only a few months before. That the nature of the social life in these hastily formed communities should be artificial in the extreme goes without saying.

The great outstanding distinction between such communities and those which have grown up by natural processes is the almost entire absence of the upper and middle classes.

⁴ Conspicuous aggregations of this character are about Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, South Chicago and East St. Louis.

The owners of the gigantic amounts of capital responsible for these abnormal aggregations of human beings rarely live in the community where their money is invested. The directing groups of highly skilled and well paid engineers and superintendents are able to live in some favorable location somewhat removed from the sordid surroundings of the laboring masses; owing to their position between the capitalists and the working man, they find it difficult to participate in the civic and social life of the larger community. The nearest approach to a middle class appears in the professional and commercial groups who have come to serve the population. As a consequence, the community enterprises which are served by the middle class in a normal population function ineffectively or go by default.

In normal urban communities, public needs are cared for as they arise. In the rapidly developed industrial communities street paving is lacking, sewage disposal is crude and primitive, the water supply is often impure and inadequate, and public service utilities are crude and expensive. Living conditions in some of these communities are well nigh indescribable. The monotonous rows of company houses or the indiscriminate hit or miss shelters built by the working men themselves, or the rude, unsanitary barracks constructed by commercial enterprises for profit, furnish unsatisfactory abodes for human beings. Unfortunately, when once the ground has been cumbered by these unsightly and wretched habitations, long years filled with human wretchedness must pass by before public opinion develops sufficient power to bring about their demolition and replacement by adequate homes. Schools and churches long remain inadequate and inefficient. Great public institutions such as are frequently provided by the benefactions of the upper classes in normal communities are generally absent. Insufficient attention is given to public health and sanitation. Government and the control of public utilities too frequently fall into the hands of vicious cliques. The machinery of social control is lack-

ing or inadequate, and immorality, commercialized vice, gambling and crime flourish almost unchecked. In this respect such communities bear a striking resemblance to the frontier towns of pioneer days.⁵

Repeated investigations and surveys have acquainted the public with these described conditions so thoroughly that numerous conspicuous experiments have been undertaken to correct them.⁶ Enlightened employers have awakened to the evils of neglected industrial districts, and, sometimes with a view to increased efficiency of their workers, and sometimes out of a humanitarian desire for social justice, they have taken definite steps to correct and prevent them.⁷ Some of the most conspicuous efforts in this direction have been dismal failures, due to a lack of understanding of the character of the problem or an incorrect attitude toward the persons to be benefited.⁸ Wise promoters of great industrial enterprises are employing experts to anticipate future troubles of this character, and so-called model towns are constructed as a part of the necessary initial equipment of new ventures.⁹ In spite of these indications of a growing sense of responsibility on the part of many employers of large groups of laborers, there still exist numbers of the older industrial communities in which many of the evils described above remain unremedied. What is still less defensible, other communities of this character are still developing. Similar conditions exist on a less pronounced scale in great industrial districts embodied in otherwise normal towns. Some of the purely industrial communities have passed through the throes of self-realization and re-

⁵ G. Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, p. 195.

⁶ Note a good illustration in P. Kellogg, *The Pittsburgh Survey*.

⁷ Among the best known of these efforts is the welfare work of the National Cash Register Co., at Dayton, O. A very successful experiment is in operation among the employees of the Endicott Johnson Inc. at Endicott and Johnson City, near Binghamton, N. Y.

⁸ Regarding Pullman, Ill., see G. Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, pp. 29-90.

⁹ A model city to accommodate 40,000 persons is being constructed by the Long-Bell Lumber Co., at Longview, near Kelso, Wash.

form, and have emerged after a bitter struggle as model cities in many respects.¹⁰ The encouraging thing about such communities lies in the fact that their largely industrial population possessed the latent ability and surplus energy necessary to grapple successfully with their problems. Such events occur, however, only after a considerable middle class has grown up. This newly developed portion of the population is composed of the professional groups, tradesmen and a considerable number of well-paid skilled workmen. In other words, emancipation from the conditions of purely industrial communities occurs from within only after such communities have begun to assume normal proportions.

THE ELIMINATION OF SMALL CAPITALISTS

The public has been fairly well informed of the methods of industrial pressure by which the small industry and the small dealer have been forced out of business.¹¹ The possession of almost unlimited capital on the part of great corporations enables them, by means of cut-throat competition, to ruin competitors of limited means. Larger industries find it impossible to maintain their independence, and are eliminated or absorbed as subsidiaries of the trust. While a good case may be made for monopolistic or semi-monopolistic control of a particular industry, in that it makes for efficiency in production and distribution and tends to reduce prices through the elimination of wasteful competition, there are results which must be considered distinctly as social problems.¹² Local enterprises grow up with a community, and their owners and directors have an attitude toward it which has great value. The interests of the community are their interests. As a consequence they

¹⁰ Notably Gary, Indiana. See G. Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, pp. 194-230.

¹¹ Notably in *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, by I. M. Tarbell. See also G. Myers, *History of Great American Fortunes*.

¹² H. Withers, *The Case for Capitalism*, chap. VI; also S. and B. Webb, *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization*, pp. 99-106.

render more efficient public service than capitalists who live at a distance and whose only interest in the community is in the profits of the local investment. The active participation of paid superintendents and managers in the programs of the chamber of commerce and the city's club and social life, together with occasional subscriptions to local community enterprises, cannot take the place of the public service rendered by the owners.

Another problem resulting from the ownership of local industries by outside capital appears in the monopolistic control of public utilities. Under these circumstances, service becomes secondary to returns upon investments. New developments and extensions or improvements may be badly needed by the community, but they are not undertaken until financial returns are assured. Still further interference with the community's interests occurs when, in order to protect their own interests, public service corporations bring influence to bear upon local administrators and courts and tamper with state or even national legislation.¹³

THE BATTLE OF THE GIANTS IN INDUSTRY

Problems similar to the above appear on a larger scale as a result of the struggle between great rival groups of capitalists for the control of an industry or field of operation. Price cutting is of no avail because each of the contestants has practically unlimited resources and consequently such tactics would be disastrous to both as there would be no prospect of exhausting the surplus capital of either. The only hope of beating an adversary under these circumstances lies in securing some commercial advantage. Such advantage may be in the form of preferential freight rates, the ownership of transportation facilities, control of docks, terminals and storage, refining, or distributing facilities, and favorable contact with the sources of raw

¹³ G. Myers, *The History of Great American Fortunes*, Vol. II. pp. 70, 71. See also T. Veblen, *Absentee Ownership in America*.

materials; or favorable rulings by regulatory commissions, court decisions and advantageous legislation. Great advantage is frequently secured by control of the money market and by the manipulation of the stock of rival corporations. It would be folly to assume that these conditions could exist without detriment to social interests. The wrecking of a great railroad system by a rival may mean economic depression of the entire trade territory of the demoralized road. It is folly also to assume that the interference of great financial systems with the machinery of government, legislation and justice is without injurious social consequences.

RESULTS OF CREATING ARTIFICIAL DEMANDS

One of the outstanding developments of the modern industrial age has been the science and art of advertising, which beyond a certain point consists in the creation of artificial demands.¹⁴ The extent to which a market may be created for a given commodity has now become a matter of accurate calculation. The great mediums of advertising, the daily press and the numerous widely read periodicals, and billboards make it possible to bring the supposed merits and advantages of the commodity in question to the attention of practically everyone. The power of suggestion is well known and calculable within certain limits. The investment of a sum of money in advertising may confidently be expected to yield definite returns. This may appear harmless and even good business; it may be asserted that people have only a limited amount of money to spend and it matters little whether they spend it for this or that. Such an assertion conceals a dangerous fallacy. It is true that most people have only a limited amount of money to spend, but it makes a tremendous difference to them and to society what they spend it for. Money can be spent only once. There is an assumption, of course, that the term "spending

¹⁴ T. Veblen, *The Engineers and the Price System*, pp. 108-112.

money" applies merely to the amount left over after the essentials have been purchased. Even if we accept this assumption, it is still important how "spending money" is used. If the lavish use of advertising persuades people to buy commodities of inferior value or for which they have no real use, they are deprived of the opportunity to use this money for objects of greater value to them. A good illustration may be found in widely advertised breakfast foods. It is a well known fact that most nutritious and palatable cereals are available in the form of cracked wheat, ground corn and rolled oats; these natural foods have suffered no loss of food value in the process of treatment, and their preparation for table use is simple and inexpensive. In spite of this fact, vast fortunes are built up out of the process of treating cereals to secure a novel appearance, a new taste or flavor, or some supposedly superior nutritive or digestive quality. By spending vast sums in advertising, a market is provided for the specially treated commodity. The price to the consumer covers the cost of the advertising, the costs of the additional process of treatment, and the enormous profits to the manufacturer over and above what the simple untreated cereal would have cost for an equal amount of food value. The difference between these two sums represents the extent to which the consumer may be exploited by the use of money in creating an artificial demand. The situation is made worse where people of limited means are persuaded to spend their limited funds for things which they do not need. The element of tragedy enters where the hopes of despairing invalids and the incurably ill are exploited through the elaborate promises of health through the use of worthless and even dangerous nostrums. Unscrupulous greed cannot go much further. There are indications of a growing sensitiveness of the public conscience toward this evil. To the credit of the better type of newspaper and periodical be it said that they are closing their columns to the advertisement of patent medicines and to other forms of

advertising which do not represent goods or service of merit. Unfortunately, here as elsewhere the exploitation falls most heavily upon those who can least afford to suffer it. The most ignorant are the most gullible. Ordinarily they also have the lowest standard of living. It is not necessary for us to carry the discussion of this subject further. Suffice it to say that the discussion might well include the thousand and one schemes, legal, semi-legal, and criminal by which honest investors as well as those who seek to get something for nothing are separated from their wealth. The legal principle "let the purchaser beware" is cold comfort to the unfortunate victim of exploitation which the law fails to prevent.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF INFLATED STANDARDS OF LIVING

In comparison with the enormous profits of great industrial enterprises and the rapid rise to wealth of successful promoters, the slow march toward a competence through industrious toil and frugality seems futile. The absence of class distinctions between the extremely well-to-do and those who have not abundant means often results in the close associations of persons who can spend freely and those who can not. In spite of the advertisements of the savings banks, the cajolery of the government and the admonitions of the clergy, not a few young persons flout the traditional concepts of honesty and industry and demand rapid and easy roads to affluence. The result is too often the overlooking of the finer things of life on account of the overemphasis laid upon things which give appearance of prosperity and *entré* among the lavish spenders. The easy and short road to wealth is also a dangerous one. Many wrecks of human character and happiness are strewn along the way. The shading of rectitude ever so slightly may profoundly affect economic returns. With traditional machinery for safeguarding and strengthening character badly

out of repair, we have to contend with an economic and social environment which is full of alluring pitfalls.

To recapitulate briefly,—the social problems arising from the concentration of great sums of wealth in the control of individuals or small groups cause the civic problems of purely industrial communities; the elimination of the small producer or business man; the demoralization of business ethics, and the corruption of politics, government, and justice resulting from the clash of great financial interests; the needs of great numbers of people are exploited by the creation of artificial demands; and the inflated standards of living due to the easy and rapid accumulation of wealth lead ideas of honesty, frugality and virtue to become obsolete.

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XI

GREAT INTELLECTUAL TRANSFORMATIONS

IN recent years, there has been considerable speculation regarding the mind of primitive man. Twenty years ago, it was the fashion to look upon primitive man as a child in intellect. It was supposed that there was a childhood of the race as well as of individuals, and that in the process of evolution of given stocks, mental development accompanied social evolution just as the mind of the child gives way to the mind of the adult. More recently, however, there has been a growing conviction that there is little or no change in the skull formation, cranial capacity or general physical characteristics of the brain, since the paleolithic age. If this is true, it follows that the evolution which produces the physical basis for superior intellectual capacity occurs before a stock enters upon what the sociologists call the stage of civilization. Be this as it may, the analysis of the mental processes of primitive folk reveals a child-like simplicity which might well give color to the former theory. With his animal ancestors as well as with the higher animals with which he was thrown in contact, primitive man shared a high degree of intelligence which nature required for survival in the struggle for existence. However, when he attempted to use that intelligence outside of the limits in which it was developed, his early efforts were naïvely simple. In spite of this fact, such attempts to account for himself and the world about him remain satisfactory for long periods, change very slowly, and yield reluctantly to deductions born of a higher stage of culture.

The uses to which primitive man put his mind fall into two categories. In one are the mental exercises employed in the struggle for existence; in the other, the activities of his leisure,—recreation, social intercourse and such religious and ceremonial activities as are not directly connected with food getting and the preservation and perpetuation of life. Primitive life placed very little strain upon man's mental machinery.

Considerable attention has been given recently to the cunning with which early man devised traps, nets, throwing devices, weapons, etc., and the skill which he developed in the use of them.¹ One is compelled to admire the ingenuity manifested in the making and beautifying of tools, utensils, garments, blankets, and other things for domestic use.² Not least among the indications of primitive intelligence are the making and adornment of the articles used in connection with religion. It must be borne in mind, however, that the devices, as well as the forms of adornment, were developed slowly over long periods of time. The variation at any particular time as the result of the innovation of any individual was very slight, and the net result, apart from the individual skill manifested in doing a special bit of work, was communal rather than the expression of the genius of any one person. As a consequence, apart from a considerable degree of skill shown in the adaptation of design to material, the workman followed conventional lines whose beginnings were lost in antiquity.³ In the chase and in war the swift adaptation to emergency situations was not so much a use of the reasoning powers as it was the use of intuition, with which nature has highly endowed the higher animals as well as man. Fatigue resulting from mental exertion in all of the above activities was, like normal bodily fatigue, remedied by rest or diversion.

¹ A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, pp. 40-52.

² O. T. Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*.

³ C. Wissler, *Man and Culture*, chaps. V and VI.

PRIMITIVE MAN AND THE SUPERNATURAL

The activities with which primitive man busied himself during his leisure hours were not a great credit to his intellectual powers. In fact, it is in this department of his behavior that he manifests his childlike proclivities. Religion dominated the greater part of man's leisure as it completely dominated his work. Much of his religious activity, however, lost something of its serious character and was indulged in as a form of recreation. In this transition, it retained its earlier significance and forms which were in imitation of men, animals, and the powers of nature for the purpose of influencing the things imitated, or to bring certain coveted powers to the participants. Most conspicuous among these activities was dancing, which became conventionalized and indulged in for joyous exercise and social intercourse as well as for its religious significance. Religious ceremonies having to do with success of the chase, warfare, and with the powers of good and evil, as well as various types of ritual connected with husbandry of the soil and animals occupied much time and attention, and served the purposes of recreation as well as of religion. These, together with the intricate secret rites connected with puberty and the sex functions, occupied a considerable portion of the leisure hours of primitive folk.⁴ In addition, a considerable amount of time was devoted to childlike speculation regarding the universe and man's relation to it. Instructing the young and entertaining the group with long and detailed accounts which were part tradition, part myth, and part explanation, occupied time also. These narratives, which we have labeled folk-lore, embody primitive man's attempts to satisfy his curiosity as well as his desire for security by making proper adjustments to his physical and spiritual environment. Such of these ideas as are

⁴ H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, chap. II and III; also his *Rest Days*.

religious are, like his culture, the result of a long process of development, and, during the lifetime of an individual, they undergo almost no perceptible change. As soon as an individual is properly instructed in this lore, the background of his intellectual or spiritual world is as stable and unchanging as the physical universe. Rarely, if ever, was he called upon to make new adjustments.

When, by slow degrees the concepts of the spiritual powers take on a distinctly moral tone, it is the result of individual and tribal experience rather than any rationalizing process.⁵ Before passing to the consideration of the subsequent stages of human history, two points should be fixed definitely in mind. For primitive man, the spiritual world with its conditions and inhabitants as well as its effects on his life, is just as real as the physical world, and just as permanent. Any great change in the spiritual world, its conditions or spiritual inhabitants, would affect primitive man as profoundly as a change in the order of the seasons or the familiar forces of nature.

It should be borne in mind, further, that man's positing of a spiritual world and the construction of his elaborate systems of belief and ceremony are not accidental. They must be looked upon as the outgrowth of qualities in his nature reacting to his environmental conditions.⁶ They are not the result of a rationalizing process, and they long resist the assaults of reason. In fact, man adapts himself to changing physical, social, economic, and political conditions much more readily and willingly than he does to changing concepts of religion.

PRIMITIVE MAN'S WORLD UNCHANGING

When primitive stocks which are destined to pass through the cycles of civilization embark upon their upward course,

⁵ K. Budde, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile*; and J. M. P. Smith, *The Moral Life of the Hebrews*.

⁶ G. W. Knox, *The History of Religion in Japan*, Introduction.

the steps by which they leave their primitive conditions behind are so gradual as to be practically imperceptible; only in retrospect are they discernible. The domestication of animals probably long accompanied the pursuit of food animals in the hunt. In fact, civilized man never outgrows his hunting tendencies. The development of soil-tilling breaks up the nomadic habit but does not abolish the care of flocks and herds. The slow development of civil institutions brought few perceptible changes in the affairs and conditions of any generation. Perhaps the first changes causing noticeable friction came as the result of the encroachment of personal privilege upon the domain of tribal custom in the development of feudalism. Throughout all of these varying conditions, there had been scarcely any perceptible change in man's spiritual world. Definite deity concepts slowly assumed the ascendancy, and the old familiar gods assume new attributes in keeping with the changing conditions of their worshippers. But these changes were not perceptible at the time. The theological concepts of any generation are of a spiritual order which was from the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. It is only when such considerations are kept in mind that certain acts become understandable. Sceptics and infidels have been more universally hated and more relentlessly persecuted than traitors or criminals. All of which goes to show that man has quite universally attached greater importance to his spiritual world than he has to the physical universe.⁷

ADAPTATIONS TO CHANGE DUE TO CIVILIZATION

One now begins to understand the extent of the calamity which has overtaken masses of people in the modern world. In addition to the unsettling of population from fixed places of abode, and the economic chaos which we have described, hosts of people find themselves confronted by the

⁷ L. Levy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*.

ruins of that spiritual universe which was the sure foundation of the faith of their ancestors. This is perhaps the first time in history, with the possible exception of imperial Rome, in which great masses of human beings find themselves confronted by spiritual chaos. The fact that this may be but a period of transition is of small comfort to those from whose world the light of the old day has vanished and on whose horizon the new dawn has not yet broken. There is no indication that civilized man is decisively less religious than his primitive brother. The new thing is the existence of a generation of men without a definite and generally accepted idea of a spiritual world.⁸ The results of this collapse of the traditional spiritual world are in the main quite definite. Many of the problems arising from this source are familiar to all. Others are more obscure and some of them have been only dimly perceived as yet. It is probable that many problems with which we are all more or less familiar, and which we have been in the habit of attributing to other factors, are the result of this spiritual uncertainty.

The great intellectual and cultural transformations confronting the modern world may be grouped under three heads: first, the development of the modern educational movement; second, the changes in traditional religious ideas; and, third, the consequent uncertainty in the individual attitude toward life.

EDUCATION AND ITS SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Primitive man's curiosity regarding himself and his world, which develops as civilization progresses into a hunger for knowledge, is in a way to find satisfaction for the first time with the development of the scientific method of establishing truth. Profound as were the classical mental exercises in

⁸ J. T. Shotwell, *The Religious Revolution of Today*, chap. I., also A. C. McGiffert, *The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas*, chap. V.

the form of philosophical and theological speculation, they were, in the main, barren of definite informational results. Such results as were obtained were the possession of the few and were apt to be more or less in line with the traditional ideas and not such as to disturb profoundly the mental serenity of the masses of the people. The great truths which were destined to sweep the intellectual and spiritual world into chaos were arrived at by scientific experimentation. The terrific battle which resulted when the defenders of the old order attempted to repel the assaults of the new knowledge shook society to its foundations. The rumblings of the conflict are still audible. Although the more sanguinary phases of the struggle are past, the popular mind is still in a state of confusion and the period of reconstruction has only just begun.

After the first terrific conflict, in which the new knowledge was fighting for its existence, science turned from its controversy with religion and launched out upon its ambitious program of pushing back the bounds of the unknown. It was inevitable that the rapidly accumulating store of knowledge should sooner or later be placed at the disposal of the whole of society. Two results of great moment to society followed. One was the beginning of the great educational movement, which was to commit the Western world to the experiment of sharing knowledge with the masses. The other was the divorce for the first time in our history, of matters intellectual from matters religious.⁹

The gradual accumulation of knowledge was largely responsible for the challenge to autocratic government by modern democracy. The exchange of ideas made possible by printing, and the possibility which it offered of enabling large numbers of people to come to some kind of agreement and think alike, laid the foundation for the popular revolt against autocratic religious and political control. These

⁹ A. D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*; and J. B. Bury, *History of the Freedom of Thought*.

liberating movements, however, threw man back upon his own resources where he had been accustomed formerly to lean upon authority. To strengthen himself in this new responsibility as well as to reassure himself, man began searching anxiously for knowledge. Religious freedom was to be preserved by knowledge of the will of God; political freedom was to be retained by the intelligent participation of the people in the affairs of government. This also involved knowledge. Popular education, therefore, was a corollary of democracy and theoretically inseparable from it. The first efforts at education were crude in the extreme, but the results were tremendous when the elementary learning given to the people is compared with the profound ignorance which characterized the former period.¹⁰

Owing to the close contacts between the revival of learning and the classic languages, the earlier concepts of higher education were classical in form and cultural in results. Consequently, the benefits derived from advanced education were enjoyed by a privileged few. The lawyer, the minister and the teacher were the chief beneficiaries. The idea that democracy was to be strengthened and made efficient by the development of an educated electorate inevitably brought about popular and then compulsory education. Naturally the experiment of education on so large a scale limited the scope of the instruction mainly to the rudiments, and the amount was determined largely by the time which could be spared from toil. The tradition of cultural education was preserved by the private schools, and when the public experiment developed to the stage of undertaking higher education the cultural ideal prevailed. Developments in the industrial system and the consequent desire to increase efficiency and overcome one of the chief causes of poverty led inevitably to the demand that popular education become

¹⁰ P. Monroe, *History of Education*; J. Dewey, *Democracy and Education*; J. H. Robinson, *The Humanizing of Knowledge*; and F. S. Marvin, *The Century of Hope*.

more practical. Since the amount of time required by law for the common school education did not admit of much technical or so-called practical instruction, this type of training was developed mainly in the secondary schools and afterward in the institutions of higher learning. Unfortunately, this development was prevented from achieving desired results because the children who most needed practical training were those whose economic situation forbade their spending the additional time required to secure it.¹¹ Finally the demand for utilitarian education became so insistent that higher education is in danger of losing its cultural aspects entirely and taking on the form of highly specialized technical training with a view to aiding the individual in rapidly securing economic success.

TECHNICAL PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION

The problems of education arise in part from the nature of the task undertaken and partly from our lack of previous experience in the field. The rapid increase of the population confronted the state with the task of furnishing the legally required instruction of large numbers of pupils through the medium of inadequate equipment and teaching staff. The number of children to be educated has quite generally increased more rapidly than the public willingness to finance public education properly. The results are the well-known evils of mass education, namely, the development of a system of instruction designed to meet the technical problems of school administration rather than the needs of the individual child. Recently the school men have been grappling with the problem of adapting this education to the individual. Unfortunately, this involves an increase in the teaching staff and greater specialization and adaptation of the physical equipment of the schools. The result is the increase of the costs of education to a point which threatens to produce a revolt on the part of the taxpayers

¹¹ G. B. Mangold, *Problems of Child Welfare*, p. 240.

against the mounting cost of free instruction. American society has not yet been educated up to the point where it can accept with equanimity large expenditures for constructive educational projects. Enormous expenditures for destructive armament are more enthusiastically approved than relatively slight appropriations for educational projects.

The cultural results of education are threatening to disrupt the foundations of the very democracy it was designed to safeguard. The measure of equality of opportunity afforded by democratic institutions has enabled the efficient and the capable to rise rapidly in the social scale. These have been aided in their rise by the advantages of learning. The results of compulsory education have not been uniform. Those intelligent enough to take advantage of it have rapidly improved their economic and social position, while those who, unable to profit by it, are forced to remain in positions of inferiority, are sufficiently informed to feel their misfortune. The result is the development of a real aristocracy, an aristocracy of ability. For the inequality which results there is no political readjustment. A successful revolt of the inferior against the control of the superior could result only in the destruction of the finer elements of culture and the reduction of civilization to mediocre levels.¹² If society is to escape from the dictatorship of the proletariat, it must solve the problem of retaining the control of society in the hands of the intellectually superior. Persons who at present control society through the medium of economic advantage seem unable to realize this fact. Democratic governments have not yet shown a proper appreciation of intelligence apart from its financial manifestations.

The political results of education, therefore, have not been satisfactory. Education of the electorate seems not to have quickened the interest of the individual in public

¹² L. Stoddard, *The Revolt Against Civilization*, chaps. I and VI.

affairs. The result of education, on the other hand, has been to raise the standard of living of those who have profited by it. This rise in the standard of living has tended to increase the struggle for existence and to induce preoccupation with private matters. As a consequence, the more cultured population submits to exploitation and the abuse of public affairs on account of its distaste for the conditions and consequences at present involved in political activity.¹³

A recent charge against education which is being reiterated with increasing frequency is that education unfits young people for work. Whether this is or is not true, a distinct economic fact lies behind the charge. Not only does education make menial tasks distasteful; it also produces higher efficiency and increases earning capacity. It is a confession of the conflict of viewpoint between social and economic ideals if it is conceded that there are economic advantages in keeping persons ignorant. The solution lies in creating mechanical devices for distasteful labor rather than in enforced ignorance of workmen, and for this, education is essential. On the other hand, in so far as the charge is true, the fault lies in the fact that education has not yet fully grasped the significance of individual differences.

Conflict of interests between education and industry in America would have developed long ago had it not been for the steady stream of ignorant immigrants which has been flowing into the country for seventy-five years. As rapidly as the children of the immigrants have risen above the life and labor standards of their parents through the advantages of education, their places have been taken in industry by new arrivals of adult laborers from abroad. The checking of the stream of immigration in recent years by restrictive legislation is having its effect. The demand on the part of large employers of cheap labor that restrictions on immigra-

¹³ J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*; and F. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*.

tion shall be made less stringent to aid business indicates the rapidity with which living standards rise even among recently arrived aliens. That this rapid rise in economic well-being is due in a large measure to education is not denied.

Students of the problem of child labor place among its most important causes the greed of parents and the greed of employers.¹⁴ In this connection, compulsory education comes in direct conflict with a custom as old as industry itself. Among the earliest of his traditions, man's religion sanctifies large families of children on account of the economic advantages incident thereto. In agriculture as well as in the development of household industry, the labor of children was an accepted institution. Its existence is challenged in our time as a result of compulsory education. To this day, parents who wish to realize on the economic assets of their children, constitute one of the chief difficulties in the way of compulsory school attendance. For this same reason, farming is exempted from the occupations in which child labor is prohibited in most states. For this reason, school terms are short and average daily attendance per year per child is low in rural communities. This same reflex appears in another connection. The children of the poorer classes in the cities leave school sooner, and fewer of them go on into high school and college than is the case with their more fortunately situated companions.

Two of modern society's most vexing problems arise as what one might call by-products of education. They are the problem of the mentally defective child and the child who for various reasons is not properly adjusted to the social system. Feeble-mindedness and delinquency are not new phenomena. They have become acute problems because they are forced upon the attention of society as incidents of the educational process. In a society steeped in ignorance, the feeble-minded individual is not conspicuous

¹⁴ G. B. Mangold, *Problems of Child Welfare*, pp. 271-279.

except on account of his extreme stupidity. There is not a sharp contrast between him and his fellows such as is induced by the education of all of the normal members of the group. In the process of educating the group, he is early distinguished from his associates by his inability to take advantage of his educational opportunities. With the development of education, the demands made upon the individual by society become more exacting, and the feeble-minded person is unable to compete with normal persons in the struggle for existence. Thus, while feeble-mindedness is not the result of education, it is forced upon the attention of society largely by the educational process.

We have previously noted the fact that the necessity of mass education has, to a great extent, forced the adaptation of the child to a system. While we may have done violence to many children by this process, the results in most cases have not been conspicuous because they have been negative rather than positive. We do not appreciate the losses to society which result from failure to develop latent capacities. Because most normal children are plastic and adaptable we never know the extent to which personality is dwarfed or twisted by forced conformity to a conventional system. We are conscious of a problem at once, however, when even a small number of children show inability or unwillingness to make the necessary adaptations. Immediately such children assume an abnormal relationship toward the school and their fellows. Even when their cases are handled with intelligence, the special consideration which they receive sets them off from the rest. When they receive no attention, or attention which is not intelligent, their situation becomes aggravated and they get into difficulties. They are what we are coming to call "problem children." Misunderstood and mistreated at home and at school, they are apt to develop a distaste or even hatred for study, teacher or school, and truancy results. Left behind by their more adaptable fellows, they seek the company and

diversions of other misfits, and petty crimes result. Juvenile court clinics reveal the significant frequency of the vicious combination,—irregular school attendance, incorrigibility, improper guardianship, and delinquency.¹⁵

Only recently has psychiatry revealed to us the frequency with which unfortunate persons make a wreck of their lives and bring sorrow and disaster to others as a result of a deranged mental organism.¹⁶ One of the results which seems to stand out as an achievement of fairly recent study is the frequency with which this disaster and grief might have been avoided by early detection of indications of instability and by the adaptation of the educational process so as to induce corrective mental habits.

Social developments have recently forced upon our attention one of the most vexing problems connected with education. In the past, various institutions and considerable conscious effort combined to socialize the individual. The home, social life, religion, and a primitive form of education all did their part in fitting the individual into his group so that by the time he reached maturity he was able to enter into the activities and the responsibilities of the society in a manner satisfactory both to himself and to his fellows. As tribal life gave way to early civil society, certain definite institutions assumed more and more responsibility for the social education of the young. Education was divided between the home and the church. Religion sanctified parental authority and respect for elders. Home life with its miniature representation of the larger social life exercised a distinct socializing influence upon the young, in preparation for the assumption of home responsibilities and parental authority in the future. The social life of the community revolved around the two institutions, the home and the church.

¹⁵ W. Healey, *The Individual Delinquent*, p. 141.

¹⁶ Sands and Blanchard, *Abnormal Behavior*; W. A. White, *Principles of Mental Hygiene*; and W. H. Burnham, *The Normal Mind*.

THE BREAK-DOWN OF TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS IDEAS

We have discussed previously the extent to which the home and social life are being demoralized by the artificial conditions of modern life. Also, we have outlined, in part, the effect of the break in traditional religious ideas. As its customary machinery for socializing the individual became less and less efficient, modern society began depending more and more upon education to accomplish that task. With an educational system torn with the conflict between cultural, economic, and technical ideals, educators find themselves being forced to adapt both method and machinery to the performance of the new task thus thrust upon them. To complicate the situation still further, educators are not yet agreed among themselves as to what socialization of the individual actually implies. Since not all educators have the social point of view, this uncertainty is not surprising. Society faces the difficult task of giving the social viewpoint not only to teachers but to the trainers of teachers. It faces the difficult problem of socializing the educational system in a generation which loudly demands economic and technical results and still longs, in a vague sort of fashion, that some cultural results may emerge from the process.

The divorcing of religion and education on a large scale threw the burden of religious and moral instruction almost entirely upon the church. Recognizing the danger which was bound to result from the complete separation of the important divisions of instruction, certain great sects refused to allow the separation to be made and undertook the entire task of education on their own account. Other sects, devoted to the idea of free public education, attempted to bridge the gap by offering in Sunday-schools the religious and moral education not provided in public instruction. Both of these experiments have produced unsatisfactory

results from the standpoint of society. On account of the predominance of the theological interest in the religious schools, society has experienced difficulty in bringing the educational standards of such schools up to the requirements of the public school system. On the other hand, the Sunday Schools have failed in a large measure to reach the children of the public schools; and to those whom they have reached, they have afforded an inferior type of instruction on account of the failure to provide an adequate plan of instruction and an adequately trained staff of teachers. Religious institutions, especially those of Protestantism, are still obsessed to a considerable extent with the idea that in some mysterious fashion the desired results will be obtained by the intensive study of the text of the Bible. Where this is the case, little effort is made to connect the study of the Scriptures with the actual life of the Hebrews or of the present generation. Efforts in this direction are viewed with suspicion as resulting from higher criticism, vaguely supposed to be connected with heresy. As a result, much of the education designed to fill the gap left by the separation of the church and the school has little, if any, practical social value.

As a result of the failure of the public schools to provide religious and moral instruction, and of the failure of the religious institutions to fill the gap successfully, we are witnessing the social experiment of bringing up a considerable portion of the rising generation without such instruction, or at most, with very imperfect teaching.

New knowledge regarding man and his world was bound in time to break up the control over society of traditional religious concepts. We have had occasion to refer repeatedly to the effect of the resulting religious confusion in connection with other social problems. Students of social phenomena have only begun to appreciate the part which religious uncertainty plays in the present complicated situation. The following brief analysis is an attempt to

indicate the relation which exists between religious and other social problems.¹⁷

From the first bitter and long-drawn-out conflict between science and theology, the fight was a losing one for traditional religion. Its control over the affairs of men was to crumble with the idea of the cosmos which was the center of its theology. It was destined still for centuries to exercise authority in the matter of morals, but in matters of knowledge it was forced to yield first place to science. This was the second great reverse for organized Christianity. In the first, it lost control over the civil affairs of society. On the whole, this was a distinct gain for religion, since the control of the state had tended to lower the spiritual vitality of the church. The loss of control over the human intellect, however, was a distinct loss for the church. In the fight to defend its traditional ideas, it was destined to entrench itself about a group of doctrines from which the intellectual world became farther and farther removed. The effort of theology to save something from the ruins by attempting to harmonize the important findings of science with the traditional explanation of things was of some comfort to the faithful, but no great credit to their intelligence. Presently the gap between traditional religion and scientific knowledge becomes so great that the defenders of the faith fear to admit anything further lest they should imperil what they consider to be the fundamentals of religious truth. The result is a definite resolve to abandon the findings of science and cling to the "truth once for all delivered to the saints." Since many progressive church men have been interested in bringing religion once more in step with intellectual progress, a disastrous break now occurs within the ranks of the church and a new conflict develops between science and theology, this time involving the control of the machinery of religion. The outcome of this controversy is fraught with profound significance for

¹⁷ J. T. Shotwell, *The Religious Revolution of Today*.

society. Much depends upon whether we shall be able to adapt our religious machinery to the present needs of society. If the fundamentalists remain in control, the day will be indefinitely postponed when the machinery of religion shall be completely geared with the machinery of social progress. Should the progressive intellectuals or modernists gain control of organized religion, a tremendous asset will be placed at the disposal of society to furnish the dynamic impulse necessary to a successful solution of the social problem.

Western Civilization thus faces the definite task of socializing religion.¹⁸ This task is made all the more difficult by the fact that the church is out of step with economic, scientific, and intellectual progress. In spite of loud denunciations from the pulpit of modern scepticism and lack of interest in things religious, the probability is that religion is suffering most at the hands of its friends. Men are as religious as ever. On every side are abundant evidences of spiritual hunger. On account of the failure of organized religion to provide badly needed spiritual stimulation, sorely tried souls are groping vainly in every direction in search of satisfaction. If organized religion cannot meet the needs of this generation, it must suffer the consequences of its failure and witness the falling away of its devotees. Loyal adherents view this situation with alarm. The real calamity, however, lies not in what happens to the church. Society often has and still may abandon with apparent indifference, outgrown and inefficient institutions which have ceased to render needed social service. In the event of the failure of the church to function successfully as a social factor, society faces the necessity of constructing new machinery to render needed service. In the event of the failure of organized religion to make the necessary adaptations and perform the necessary tasks, society will either

¹⁸ For a summary of the essentials of a social religion see C. A. Ellwood, *The Reconstruction of Religion*, chap. VI.

devise other machinery for meeting its spiritual needs or suffer the consequences of having those needs unsatisfied.

What, then, are the services which organized religion has rendered to society in the past? Its most important social functions have been to sustain morals, stabilize the home and furnish the devotion necessary to provide disinterested service to humanity. Whether human need shall be able to develop new religious machinery under the artificial conditions of modern civilization is problematical. By far the more hopeful course lies in the direction of bringing the machinery at hand to bear successfully upon its problems. Religion faces the gigantic task of sustaining morals and stabilizing the home as well as of providing the energy of devotion. Disinterested devotion to service is perhaps the most badly needed thing in the world today. But this devotion must be intelligent.

If organized religion is to rise to the emergency and to meet the present need, its regeneration must come from within. We are indebted to the lamented Dr. Rauschenbusch for the illuminating idea that churches, like individuals, save their souls by being willing to lose them in the service of humanity.¹⁹

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ABSENCE OF A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

The break-down in traditional religious ideas has significance for society in that it robs multitudes of individuals of great impelling motives for conduct. It goes without saying that most persons who render service to society are driven by profound convictions. The dissolution of the group of ideas which has produced devotion in the past, robs hosts of individuals of the motive for social service. To make clear the extent and importance of this condition, let us again use the familiar division of the individuals making up the social group. The members of the superior group

¹⁹ W. Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, chap. VI.

suffer the least of all perhaps because of their strength of character and intelligence. When traditional sources of spiritual satisfaction cease to serve their needs, they find other ways of making spiritual contacts. They are the least of all dependent upon conventional forms of spiritual renewal. Unfortunately, when this group departs from traditional beliefs and finds satisfaction for itself in new ideas, it loses, for the time being, its leadership over the minds of other groups who are not able at once to make the transition to new convictions; consequently their value as leaders is temporarily lessened. We have described a middle group of individuals which does most of the useful work in the nature of actual social service. Their ability, however, was seen to be most useful when following the leadership of the superior group. In the circumstances under consideration, this leadership is abandoned for the time being and the middle group falls back upon itself for direction and guidance. The result is that the activities of this group lose step with progress and much creative energy is lost to society. Individuals in the middle group suffer most keenly from the chaos of religious ideas. Being unable to follow immediately the lead of the superior group in its departure from traditional convictions, as well as unable to make satisfactory adjustments for themselves, they remain in a state of religious uncertainty. This lack of dominating spiritual motive robs society of the service this group is wont to render when impelled by powerful convictions. As a result of the collapse of spiritual leadership, the third or lower group of individuals, who are always dependent upon others for the satisfaction of their own spiritual needs, is thrown into a state of spiritual confusion which produces a distinct problem for society. For centuries in our civilization as well as for millenniums of primitive society, such persons were held in religious and social conformity by fear of the spiritual consequences of disobedience. Owing to the general enlightenment of modern

society, a certain amount of which has been absorbed by the inferior group, the belief in and fear of Hell have ceased to be important determinants in conduct. As a result, hosts of people in the third group remain in rather indifferent allegiance to the church. Still others have lost contact with organized religion altogether. Their children are growing up without moral or religious instruction at home and they have no contacts with any form of such instruction elsewhere. This condition cannot be without unfortunate social consequences since for them no definite determinants of conduct of a moral or social character are provided.

A fortunate aspect of the religious situation appears in the strong revival within the church of the social ideals of Christianity. It bids fair to provide a rallying ground for many individuals who find themselves out of line with the other-worldly forms of religious propaganda. Realizing the value of religion to society, and believing that the social teachings of Jesus afford a sufficient basis for organized effort, such persons are working patiently to swing the machinery of the church definitely over to the social basis.²⁰ They would substitute in the place of the future abode of the soul, the Kingdom of Heaven on earth as the goal of religious endeavor. In connection with such ideas, however, organized religion has suffered a considerable loss. Many people who have visioned the social need clearly, have become impatient with the indifference of the church toward social work in its early stages and have broken with the church and devoted themselves to social service. Thus the most practical application of Christianity has developed to a large degree independent of organized religion. The tendency on the part of social workers to abandon the church seems to be diminishing rapidly as the

²⁰ For a recent notable contribution to the literature of this subject see C. A. Ellwood, *The Reconstruction of Religion; and Christianity and Social Science*. Additional works are included in the bibliography at the end of this section.

tendency to social service develops within the church itself. This development offers socially minded individuals the opportunity to render service to humanity at the same time that they render service to a beloved institution.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the idea of social service is a new one. It must be thrust upon society, in a measure, without its consent. As a consequence, when religion comes to the masses in this new guise and with an unfamiliar gospel, it must wait for obedience and devotion until familiarity has overcome suspicion. In this greatest of all missionary enterprises, converts are not really won until they have been made to visualize a new heaven and a new earth. In the new church devotion to service must supplant abhorrence of sin.

Thus it is seen that as a result of the chaos in religious ideas, society as a whole is not provided with generally accepted spiritual concepts or unified, all-compelling motives for conduct. One appreciates the gravity of the situation when one realizes that the modern world is vague as to convictions and uncertain as to motives, just at the time when the social situation renders definiteness of motives and convictions more imperatively needed than ever before. When the world is in desperate need of spiritual leadership, religion is bordering on chaos.

Before turning from this important subject, we have to consider the apparent uncertainty which exists in the fields of morals, public and private.²¹ The basic moral ideas which Christianity brought to the modern world were ideas which were developed in and suited to small kindred groups. By slow degrees they expanded to serve the needs of relatively small and homogeneous groups. In business and politics we have tried to expand them to fit the complicated conditions of a world society. The individual conscience has not developed as rapidly as have man's contacts. As

²¹ For a good short discussion of this subject, see A. T. Hadley, *Standards of Public Morality*.

a result, man's conscience and his morals have functioned fairly successfully within a relatively small radius. When subjected to the test of self-interest, however, man's conscience and his ethics have become inefficient in direct ratio to the extent of his personal interests and the remoteness of his contacts. One of the severest tests to which modern civilization is put is to develop morals and ethics to efficient international proportions before human prejudice and greed shall have wrought irreparable disaster.²²

We have yet to consider another important aspect of the shift in the intellectual realm. As a result of the great intellectual and religious transformations discussed in the foregoing pages, an element of uncertainty has crept into the lives of multitudes of people. While, perhaps, the vast majority of human beings have never definitely thought about the matter, practically all persons, in times past, have lived more or less in conformity with an individual philosophy of life. Although vague, this philosophy served to answer the questions: what is good, what is life for, and what is the ultimate goal of existence. In the past, whenever these questions have been asked openly, society through one or another of its institutions has given a definite and satisfying answer. At the present time, society's answers to these questions of the individual are uncertain and hesitating.²³ It is doubtful if there was ever before a time when so many persons were without more or less definite ideas as to the purpose of existence.

We have in this chaotic condition in the individual's philosophy of life what appears to be one of the most important causes of social unrest. Its relation to social unrest, however, is at present little understood. As a result of this chaos in individual adjustment to the universe, we get the numerous familiar manifestations of religious

²² C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*; and G. Wallas, *Our Social Heritage*.

²³ W. Lippmann, *Drift and Mastery*, pp. 196, 197.

and intellectual discontent. Anxious souls are groping about in every direction, thinking in each new thing to find that certainty which they so much long for. We have here an explanation of the present popularity of strange and singular cults. New Thought, Theosophy, Christian Science, Spiritualism and a host of lesser *isms* afford a promise of escape from unbearable uncertainty.²⁴ Ideas of the Orient and antiquity, and the lore of primitive witch doctors, are dragged out, renovated, and dressed in modern garb to satisfy the cravings of restless human souls. In addition to these familiar manifestations of unrest, spiritual maladjustment undoubtedly lies at the base of many other forms of social disturbance, individual and collective, for, as we have seen, the manifestation of unrest with which an uneasy individual finally identifies himself may have no connection whatever with the cause of his disquietude. He, himself, may even be unaware of the real cause of his plight. Again, many distracted individuals, unaware of the cause of their unrest, never identify themselves with a cult or cause and remain all their lives a nuisance to themselves and their friends and more or less of a menace to society.

SUBSTITUTING SOCIAL THINKING FOR SOCIAL HABIT

Before we close the discussion of the problems created by the great intellectual transformation, it may be of interest to the reader to visualize the situation as a whole from an entirely different angle. The changes which are taking place involve a change in the very foundation of social relationships. The various activities in primitive society which socialized the individual and finally fitted him into his group in a manner satisfactory to himself and the group depended very little upon mental processes. They served rather to develop what might be called a social habit which

²⁴ See Woodbridge Riley, "New Thought," in *The American Mercury*, January, 1924.

caused the individual to react in a social manner to group stimuli. Primitive man's social behavior, therefore, was habitual rather than rationalized. The changes in social conditions which have been discussed at length in this and preceding chapters have served very largely to destroy the practices and institutions which in the past have produced the social habit. In falling back upon education, either religious or secular, as a means of socializing the individual, society is attempting to secure social behavior by producing social thinking rather than a social habit. Educational processes now in vogue, however, are not designed with this end in view, and are hence falling far short of satisfactory results. From the standpoint of social results, most of the effort expended in educating the individual is wasted because it does not teach him to think in terms of the group.

The process of producing rationalized social behavior in the absence of a social habit is always difficult. In the first place, many of the individual's habits are formed before standardized educational effort begins. We are, therefore, faced with a two-fold difficulty. Not only must we reorganize our public system of education to produce socialized thinking; we also face the necessity of starting the process of socializing the individual at a very tender age, so that social thinking induced later will not have to contend with non-social habits already developed when the child enters school. It is doubtful if the artificial conditions of any sort of school or kindergarten can supplant successfully the thoroughly socialized home as a means of developing correct attitudes from the beginning of the individual's career. If this is true, society must, somehow, counteract the forces which are causing the disintegration of the family and bring about conditions which will endow parents with the will to socialize their children as well as the knowledge of how to do it.

There is nothing in this conclusion to exclude the use of traditional methods in producing the social habit. It does involve, however, the elimination of everything from the process which will conflict or interfere with the later rationalization of conduct. The ability to think in social terms is of little value if not accompanied by a disposition to act socially. The distinct problem, then, which confronts society is to produce social behavior by a thorough socialization of the individual's mental processes.

Granting that public education may be adapted to perform this task from the sixth year of the child's life onward, there still remains the perplexing problem of making the proper impressions during the plastic stage of the individual prior to the age of six. In the past, the rough outline of the religious complex was sketched in during this period, to be filled in and rounded out in later years. With the abandonment of the traditional ideas of religion we are lacking other ideas to replace them and a method of inculcating them if ideas were present. The utility of religion lay in the fact that it afforded both the ideas and the method. Intelligence forbids the inculcation of ideas which are in conflict with present knowledge. Our problem, therefore, seems to be one of perfecting a scientific morality and devising a method of imparting its ideas with the necessary elements of sanctity and reverence which gave weight to the unrationalized traditional mores. Herein lies a real task for human intelligence. The power of religion lies in the nature of it and that regardless of what part man's intelligence has played in it. It remains to be seen whether it will retain its efficacy after it has been subjected to the test of rationalization. Out of the complicated and confusing conditions confronting us, one thing stands out clearly. The morals of the future must be scientific if our intelligence is to prevail. Conduct must be determined by knowledge of the results and not by vague fears or wholly unrationalized

taboos. This, however, is a far cry even from the present state of intellectual emancipation.²⁵

SUMMARY

To summarize briefly, we have seen that primitive man conceived of a spiritual world which, to him, was as real and unchanging as his physical universe. In early civil states as well as in barbarism, changes which occurred in the material and spiritual worlds were so gradual that individuals were not called upon to adapt themselves to them. Only in highly developed civilizations does man's spiritual universe change so rapidly as to necessitate conscious adjustments to new ideas. At present, the individual finds himself forced to make spiritual as well as economic and social adjustments to changing conditions.

The development of the new knowledge brought about a separation between religion and learning. The resulting secular education not only produced the problems of sharing knowledge with the masses; it also produces the problem of religious and moral instruction. The need has not been met by organized religion because the separation of learning from religion has caused the religious institutions to lose step with progress because of their fear that the new science may destroy traditional religious ideas.

Efforts within religious institutions to keep them abreast with scientific and social progress result in a division due to the opposition of conservative leaders. As a result of the hostility of religious conservatism toward social ideals, the impulse of service lays the foundation for modern social work outside the church. There is a tendency, however, toward identification of the two, as the church becomes more social and social work becomes more spiritual.

²⁵ H. E. Barnes, "Conduct as a Science," in *Humanity and Its Problems*, April, 1924; E. R. Groves, *Personality and Social Adjustment*; R. C. Givler, *The Ethics of Hercules*; J. Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*; and the article on Ethics by I. Edman in H. E. Barnes', *The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences*.

The break-down of the family and the church as socializing agencies throws the task of socializing the individual upon the school. As a result of its historic development, the school has endeavored to produce cultural, economic and technical results. The new demand, however, finds the school ill-equipped to undertake the new moralizing and socializing task.

As a result of the severe strain put upon morals by the complicated conditions of modern society, man sees that his conscience was developed to meet the needs of the small, highly homogeneous group. This conscience proves inadequate to the strain of great material interest and remoteness of contact with individuals. The result is the development of business and political ethics not in conformity with personal ethics.

As a result of the chaos in traditional religious ideas, multitudes of individuals find themselves without definite spiritual convictions, and hence without a satisfactory philosophy of life. This condition reflects itself in the many indications of spiritual unrest of an individual or group character.

Due to the break-down of the practices and institutions which have developed the social habit in times past, modern civilization finds itself confronted with the task of developing a rationally socialized individual. This, in turn, necessitates the socialization of education and the stabilizing and socializing of the family.

Individuals are profoundly disturbed by the rapid changes taking place in their conditions and affairs. Those who fail to make satisfactory adjustments, in one direction or another, remain in a state of disquietude which results in abnormal individual behavior as well as in more or less vague organized efforts to rearrange certain social conditions. A more extended study of these phenomena will be undertaken in the next chapter.

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XII

MAJOR MANIFESTATIONS OF SOCIAL UNREST

SOCIAL unrest has been defined as a vague uneasiness or dissatisfaction affecting large numbers of individuals. The causes have been found to lie mainly in the fact that the profound changes in the affairs and conditions of men have found a large number of persons unable to make satisfactory adjustment. It has been made clear that these changes affect the individual's location with respect to others, his economic arrangements, his position with respect to the ownership of wealth, and his intellectual and spiritual status. Failure to make proper adjustments in one or more of these departments results in an unsettled condition which may profoundly disturb the individual in all of his relationships and result in behavior dangerous to the social body.

NATURE AND CAUSES OF SOCIAL UNREST

Furthermore, it has been shown that the individual affected may or may not be aware of the cause or the nature of his difficulty, and that efforts which he may make in the direction of readjustment, either alone or in conjunction with others, may have no relation to or connection with the real causes of his disquietude. We have seen that unrest at any time may exist in two forms. That form which appears in a rather vague general uneasiness which has not yet rationalized itself we have chosen to call *inarticulate* unrest. Whenever an effort has been made to rationalize the unrest and concerted movements have been made in a more or less general direction of remedying the condition by removing the supposed cause or causes, it may be said to be *articulate*.

Articulate unrest, therefore, is that which has found expression in a "cause." Although this type of unrest has rationalized itself, it is not necessarily intelligent. Most frequently it is not intelligent and it may even go so far as to produce a delusional effect on its victims. Failure to recognize this fact has led to most unfortunate results, especially where officers of the law have attempted to deal with local manifestations of this type. Most of organized society's efforts to deal with political and economic phases of unrest have been characterized by a stupidity equaled only by that of the sorely vexed disturbers of the status quo.¹

With local or general manifestations of inarticulate unrest we are not concerned here, except to call attention to conspicuous efforts on the part of shrewd persons to make capital out of some cause of irritation. Organizations based upon race or religious prejudice should not be confused with articulate unrest. They are not the articulation of an unrest so much as they are the result of the activity of a relatively small group of designing or misguided persons who take advantage of a local or general condition of unrest and exploit it for definite ends of interest to themselves. This fact is demonstrated by the facility with which an organization may exploit several kinds of unrest in different parts of the country at the same time, and the agility with which it may shift its exploitation from one type of unrest to another as soon as the possibilities of the first give evidence of exhaustion. This shifting characteristic and the fact that such movements rarely ever develop a permanent and rationalized program bar them from being classified as forms of articulate unrest. With the expression of unrest in mobs, riots, lynchings and similar disturbances, we are not concerned, except to say that they may be the result of purely temporary and local unrest or they may be an ex-

¹ See C. Parker, *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays*, chap. IV. Also T. Veblen, *The Engineers and the Price System*, pp. 83-91, and O. Tead, *Instincts in Industry*, pp. 124, 125.

pression of a general and more or less continuous state of dissatisfaction. In either case, they demand intelligent treatment of the causes as well as vigorous efforts to fix responsibility and punish instigators.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FORMS OF SOCIAL UNREST

The following analysis includes a brief statement of the more familiar forms of articulate social unrest. An effort will be made to discuss more fully the less familiar ones. These more important forms may be grouped conveniently under four heads, namely, political, economic, feministic, and religious. They are, perhaps, most familiar in the order of their statement. The first two have been attracting attention for nearly a hundred years, the third only recently and the last scarcely at all.

We are not concerned in this discussion with political revolution as such. This phenomenon may result from many causes and take place without affecting the form of the social organization. Political unrest is that form of unrest which crystallizes around the idea that the cause of our trouble lies mainly in a faulty form of social control over the individual, and undertakes, through some kind of propaganda, to bring about the changes considered necessary to correct the condition. The familiar forms in which political unrest has attracted the attention of the public are Anarchism, Socialism, and Syndicalism (The Industrial Workers of the World.)²

ANARCHISM

Popular opinion conceives of anarchy as a reign of violence induced by long-haired fanatics who attempt to assassinate prominent statesmen and officials, usually by the

² H. E. Barnes, "Social Reform Programs and Movements," *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1919, pp. 176, 181. For a fuller discussion see Gide and Rist, *History of Economic Doctrines*; B. Russell, *Proposed Roads to Freedom*, Part I; and T. Kirkup, *A History of Socialism*,

method of throwing bombs. This is a confusion of a means to an end with the end sought for. Anarchism, as a political philosophy, is a beautiful ideal which belies the means employed to bring about its realization. The philosophic anarchist has a profound confidence in human beings; he believes that most of the ills of society would disappear if organized efforts to restrain and control the individual were entirely abandoned. Government accordingly is undesirable for two reasons; first, because it coerces the individual; and, second, because the machinery of government falls into the hands of a powerful group which uses it to exploit the rest of society. Anarchistic programs include two activities. Since the end desired is the destruction of government, the anarchist's problem is how to bring this about. First, the masses of the people must be won away from the habit of obedience, and, second, the power of those in control of government must be destroyed. The former object is to be accomplished by anarchistic education and various efforts to discredit government; the latter, by a continuous program of assassination of persons in authority, which will discredit and harass government at the same time that it helps with the spread of anarchistic doctrines. The climax is supposed to be reached when the masses are so well educated that a final outburst of violence against badly demoralized governmental machinery enables them to arise *en masse* and throw off all governmental restraint and prevent its reestablishment.³

Beyond this point the philosophy of anarchism is not clear. Exponents of its doctrines have been more concerned with the destruction of the present order of society than with the rather vague ideas of what society would be like after that destruction.⁴ Admitting the many sources of weakness in every form of government which has been tried to date, anarchism is a flagrant misconception of the qualities of

³ E. Zencker, *Anarchism*.

⁴ See B. Russell, *Proposed Roads to Freedom*, Part I, chap. II.

human nature. Spies, who was hanged for his participation in the bomb throwing at the Haymarket riot in Chicago, is said to have expressed great surprise and disappointment, that, after the bombs were thrown, the people did not rise *en masse* and destroy the police. Instead, they revolted at violence and concurred in the judgment of the courts that the deluded reformers should be hanged. The would-be saviors of society appeared as murderers in the eyes of the populace.

Organized society has little to fear as far as the ultimate success of anarchism is concerned. There is no prospect of government's being destroyed from this source. The social problem created by anarchistic propaganda lies rather in its incidental menace to the lives of officials and its facility in fanning the fires of unrest. Its leaders are not infrequently possessed of great learning, and their literature is of a profoundly convincing and persuasive character.⁵ In consequence, the fallacies which it conceals are not detected by the restless individuals who find in its doctrines and program a panacea for their supposed grievances.

Leaders of anarchistic movements are so bent upon bringing about the overthrow of government that they readily align themselves with almost any revolutionary movement which gives promise of attaining this end. Contrary to its fundamental philosophy, therefore, the movement in practice makes for violence.

The fundamental philosophy of anarchism, of course, rests upon the principle of co-operation. Coercive force will be replaced by spontaneous and voluntary co-operation as the guiding force and principle of the new society. From the economic standpoint anarchism has much in common with Marxian Socialism, namely, the trend in both towards an advocacy of communism of property and ownership of the means of production. Here the similarity ceases. Po-

⁵ See Max Stirner, *The Ego and His Own*; P. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: a Factor in Evolution*.

litically they are at opposite poles; anarchism would solve social problems by eliminating the state altogether, while socialism proposes enormously to augment its powers and activities. Still many loose writers and speakers identify or confuse these widely different programs of social and economic reconstruction.

SOCIALISM

It is doubtful if a definition of Socialism could be devised which would be satisfactory to all socialists. We are dealing here with a variety of ideas greater, even, than was the case with anarchism.⁶ Fundamentally, socialism is an economic rather than a political doctrine. We are, at present, concerned only with those phases of socialism which propose some special arrangement of government to bring about and maintain a socialist régime. That régime calls for placing the instruments of production, both machinery and capital, in the hands of society.⁷ Just as the anarchist sees the cause of society's ills in government, the socialist sees the cause in the private ownership of capital. Starting with the basic proposition that labor produces all value, this theory swings to the broad assertion that the results of labor should go to the laborer. Since the private ownership of capital enables the owner of capital to appropriate what the socialist feels is produced by labor, a simple solution is

⁶ Bliss gives seventeen definitions of Socialism. See W. D. P. Bliss, *Handbook of Socialism*, chap. I.

⁷ While Communism and Socialism as well as Anarchism stand for the abolition of private property, a distinction should be made at this point between Anarchism on the one hand and Socialism on the other. The former advocates the decentralization of property. In other words, like air and water property should belong to every one and no one. Socialism, on the other hand, especially the scientific phase of it as developed by Marx and others, stands for the centralization of property including capital in the hands of the state. All movements, therefore, in the direction of government ownership, conduct, or control of industry, either national, state, or municipal, are in the direction of Socialism.

proposed in doing away with capitalism and placing the tools of industry in the hands of the workers.

Thus far, there is agreement among socialists. When, however, we turn our attention to the manner in which this economic change is to be brought about and the nature of the social machinery which it would necessitate, we find a wide diversity of opinion. Like anarchism, socialism originated as a Utopian ideal. The first experiments were of an idealistic character.⁸ It is sometimes difficult to distinguish whether the early experiments were communistic, anarchistic or socialistic.⁹ The entire movement was a reaction from the growing social misery induced by the industrial revolution. It was, also, a result of the developing political philosophy of the period. Political scientists and socialists are agreed that the movement was given a distinctly scientific character by the greatest of all socialists, Karl Marx.¹⁰ This view is further evidenced by the fact that many different shades and complexions of would-be political reformers claim him as their great authority and teacher, quoting in defense of their theories from his voluminous treatise *Das Kapital*. It is difficult to discuss political socialism as such, since the conspicuous efforts to bring it about have taken unto themselves other names.

Confusion with regard to the meaning of socialism is due in part to a fundamental difference among socialists as to how the socialistic state is to be brought about. So-called radical, revolutionary, or direct-action socialists propose to bring about the overthrow of the present order by force. On the other hand, more conservative socialists pin their hopes on education and orderly political procedure of a democratic character. It is for this reason that the socialists of a more conservative type, since the overthrow of the

⁸ T. Kirkup, *History of Socialism*. Also W. A. Hinds, *American Communities*.

⁹ In his *History of French and German Socialism*, R. T. Ely includes all three.

¹⁰ See B. Russell, *Proposed Roads to Freedom*, chap. I.

Kerensky government, have been the most determined and implacable foe of the Bolsheviks.¹¹

Socialism has suffered more at the hands of its friends than of its enemies. That type of socialism which proposes to bring about the elimination of capitalism through an orderly political procedure is only an attempt to apply popular government along perfectly logical lines.¹² Capitalism, entrenched behind the machinery of existing governments, is able to confuse the issue by making it appear that socialists of this type are making an attack upon the state and undermining popular institutions. They are able to make the charge appear plausible by citing Syndicalism and Bolshevism. The public does not distinguish between an effort to bring about a change in the economic order by legitimate political means and conspicuous attempts to accomplish this end through violence or revolution. Advocates of popular government can have no quarrel with a democratic method of establishing socialism, although they may quarrel with its theories. The public does not make this distinction. The advocates of socialism in its perfectly legitimate form, therefore, are confronted by almost insurmountable barriers. Perhaps the unscrupulous and unwise use of the right of private property is doing more to break down these barriers than all the propaganda of the advocates of democratic socialism.

Political socialists, of a conservative type, are in a sense, between the devil and the deep sea. On the one hand they are struggling to prevent their movement from being stampered into radicalism and revolution. On the other hand, they see their cherished doctrines taken up one by one and incorporated into the existing political arrangement. They

¹¹ J. Spargo, *Bolshevism the Enemy of Political and Industrial Democracy*. Also his *Psychology of Bolshevism*; and *The Greatest Failure in All History*.

¹² The British Labor Government is in many respects carrying out this policy, and is doing it so successfully (May, 1924) that even capital is relatively friendly.

face the prospect, if their fundamental proposition regarding capitalism should some day be accepted by society, of seeing this brought about by its adoption as a part of the platform of a powerful political party not primarily interested in socialism.

SYNDICALISM

Syndicalism and the I. W. W. are French and American representations respectively, of what amounts practically to the same idea.¹³ The movements are characterized by two things, the method employed to overthrow existing governments, and the form of the new communist society. In brief, the doctrines of these organizations may be set forth as follows:

The future world state is to be composed of the workers, who hitherto have been dispossessed of all wealth by the capitalistic system. In the jargon of the movement, they are known as the proletariat. All other classes must produce or starve. If a man does not work, he shall not eat.

The establishment of such a state depends upon developing what is called the solidarity of labor. In countries where the industrial revolution is far advanced, this solidarity is secured through the development of a workingmen's-class consciousness. In countries where such consciousness is not yet in existence, it is to be developed by propaganda.

To help produce this class consciousness and prepare the way for the destruction of capitalistic industry and government, labor is to be organized into one big union, instead of by trades.¹⁴ Among other reasons, trade unionism is opposed because it prevents the development of solidarity among all workers. In order to keep the great organization of all laborers from becoming unwieldy, they are to

¹³ For an excellent discussion of Syndicalism see B. Russell, *Proposed Roads to Freedom*, chap. III; and L. Levine, *Syndicalism in France*. On the I. W. W. see P. F. Brissenden, *The I. W. W.*; and J. G. Brooks, *The I. W. W.; A Study in American Syndicalism*.

¹⁴ P. F. Brissenden, *op. cit.*

be organized nationally by industries. Another reason for this will appear later.

Pending the time when the labor class consciousness shall have become powerful enough to overthrow the existing economic and political systems by revolution, capital is to be harassed by various means. The two most conspicuous are sabotage and the strike. Sabotage proposes to render capitalistic industry unprofitable through any means possible. Among these may be mentioned surreptitious destruction of machinery, spoiling of goods in process of manufacture, setting fire to forests, manufacturing plants, warehouses etc., wrecking trains or ships, interfering with transportation of perishable goods in transit and causing them to spoil, and other similar measures.¹⁵ The strike is used as a means of disturbing industry rather than for the purpose of securing an immediate objective. In this connection the reason for the organization of labor by industries becomes apparent. The demands upon employers are purposely made extravagant and unrealizable. Compliance with them is not expected; the strike is the objective. The industrial union is used in order that a strike may tie up or cripple an entire industry and seriously affect many other industries. After the industry affected begins to get on its feet and the strike can no longer be maintained with profit, the plan is to call off the strike in that industry and shift the attack to some other. Thus by a series of strikes in basic industries, industry as a whole is seriously crippled and business is carried on at a loss. This, in time, is supposed to bring about industrial bankruptcy and in the chaos which follows, the organized workers are to revolt and seize industry, overthrow capitalism, and retain control in the interest of the workers. A less ambitious use of the strike is its employment as a means of propaganda. Here it may have nothing to do with the industry involved. The object is to show

¹⁵ That the radicals have no corner on sabotage is shown by T. Veblen, *The Engineers and the Price System*, chap. I.

strength and secure publicity through the protest strike which is merely a demonstration to express dissatisfaction and impress the public.

Once the capitalistic system of industry has been destroyed and with it the capitalist state, the movement under consideration proposes to substitute for a popular representative government, a government made up of representatives of industrial groups. Since the new régime is to be established as a result of revolution, it is born of fighting and must defend itself against forcible efforts to reestablish the old régime. It becomes necessary, therefore, in practice, to bring into the government, representatives of the army and the navy. The term Syndicalism comes from the word *syndicat*, the French term for the industrial union.¹⁶ The Industrial Workers of the World developed as a result of the separation of the radical or direct-actionist wing from the conservative political-actionist wing of the American Socialist Party about the beginning of the present century.¹⁷ This movement inherited the ideals of the Knights of Labor, a "one big union" movement which developed during the last quarter of the last century and went to pieces for reasons which we need not discuss here. The industrial committee idea of government did not originate in Russia but was clearly anticipated in the Chicago convention of the I. W. W. in 1905.¹⁸ A similar idea is proposed by the Guild Socialists.¹⁹ The I. W. W. is making little headway in America with the task of creating a proletarian consciousness, in the face of the general well-being of the working classes as a whole. Its progress is undoubtedly greatly impeded by education. Propaganda of unrest thrives on ignorance and injustice. Neither condition is present in the United States to the same degree as in many European

¹⁶ B. Russell, *Proposed Roads to Freedom*, chap. III.

¹⁷ P. F. Brissenden, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ P. F. Brissenden, *op. cit.* especially chap. IV.

¹⁹ B. Russell, *op. cit.* Part II, chap. V, pp. 133 ff.

countries. The existing industrial and political order has more to fear, perhaps, from the unrestrained greed of big business and the use of military and political power in defence of capitalism than it has from the activities of radical propagandists.

Political unrest looms like a nightmare on the horizon of the existing social order. Great upheavals are impending in which the higher achievements of civilization seem to be hanging in the balance. All of the political movements here considered seem either not to evaluate these achievements properly, or to make no reassuring provision in their programs for preserving them. The most sinister thing about the present situation lies in the fact that political agitators may at any time, as a result of an unfortunate combination of circumstances, mobilize the tremendous amount of inarticulate unrest and destroy our civilization outright.

Industry and government have not yet made a sufficient effort to understand the nature and causes of political unrest. Until these are understood, the misguided efforts of employers and officials will play into the hands of the agitators. The use of the militia in repressing a few disturbances growing out of political or economic unrest produces more radicals than years of propaganda.

INDUSTRIAL ASPECTS OF SOCIALISM

Turning our attention from the political to the economic manifestations of unrest, we are first concerned with the purely economic phases of socialism. The main objective is the substitution of a socialistic for the present capitalistic system of economic production.²⁰ To the advocates of this form of socialism, the form of government is of little consequence so long as it permits that substitution. Government is to be opposed or changed, only in case it attempts to perpetuate the existing economic system or in case it attempts

²⁰ T. Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, Intro.; also M. Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice*.

to interfere with a socialistic system once established. Quite naturally, advocates of this type of Socialism have not concerned themselves with politics but have devoted themselves to various forms of propaganda depending upon the particular form of socialism advocated.

The utopian character of the early socialistic experiments has been mentioned. The literature on this subject is abundant. Before the development of scientific socialist theory, these experiments were almost childlike. Little groups of families, under the leadership of some ardent advocate of ideal socialism, set up small economic units or communities without thought of disturbing the existing forms of government. They fondly hoped, by making a practical demonstration of the feasibility of the socialistic plan, finally to win over the rest of society and bring about an era when men would peaceably abandon the capitalistic system with its poverty and industrial strife. If such a transition involved the abandonment of existing forms of government, the few problems remaining which required governmental machinery were to be left in the hands of the benevolent and the wise. One by one these experiments failed from one cause or another which we need not discuss here, until only a few remain out of the scores that were attempted.²¹ The idealistic visionaries proved impractical leaders and many of them saw their colonies dwindle about them while they dreamed of what they could do if they had the means or the right opportunity.

In addition to the utopian communities, several movements of a different character date from that early period in socialist history. Some of them were industrial while others were largely educational. Among the industrial movements may be mentioned the coöperative associations which attempted in different ways to preserve for the workers

²¹See R. T. Ely, *French and German Socialism*, chaps. II-V; W. A. Hinds, *American Communities*; and M. Hillquit, *A History of Socialism in the United States*.

the profits which would otherwise go to capitalists or merchants. Coöperative groups of craftsmen were formed to market their produce, and coöperative buying was organized to prevent the exploitation of members by middle men and merchants.²² While the coöperatives grew to conspicuous proportions they failed to check the growing power of capitalism.

Two movements of a distinctly educational character were destined to have a profound influence on economic and religious thinking. One of these was the development of Christian Socialism, which was little more than an attempt to apply the Golden Rule in industrial relations.²³ It had a powerful influence upon English working men and probably had something to do with their failing to expound the cause of revolution. It also came near capturing the Church of England and gave many of the clergy of the more prominent Protestant denominations a strong sympathy with the masses. The second conspicuous movement of an educational character was the Fabian Society.²⁴ This was organized by a little group of intellectuals who undertook through the medium of lectures and the publication of socialist tracts and pamphlets to instill their ideas into the public mind. This organization undoubtedly had a share in laying the foundations for much progressive social legislation in later years.

In addition to the activities of the many socialistic organizations, there has been widespread acceptance of certain modified forms of socialistic doctrine. The fluctuations in the numerical strength of socialist political parties registers, from time to time, the ease with which large numbers of persons may swing over from other parties to the support of socialist candidates or measures as a result of

²² E. R. A. Seligman, "Owen and the Christian Socialists," *Pol. Sci. Quart.*, vol. I.

²³ C. E. Raven, *The Christian Socialists*.

²⁴ See E. Pease, *History of the Fabian Society*.

temporary conditions making for dissatisfaction. It should be borne in mind, also, that many measures which were considered socialistic when first proposed, have been taken up by one political party or another and have found their way into the statutes through the regular channels of legislation and are no longer considered socialistic.

Like anarchism, syndicalism assumes to be in no sense a political movement, advocating as it does the elimination of the conventional political state. But whereas the anarchists assume to trust unregulated co-operation as an adequate type of social control and direction for man, the syndicalists are much more realistic, and would establish a strong directive and coercive agency in a government by labor unionism. In many ways this is no more than the erection of a form of social control, call it a state or not, in harmony with the actualities of modern industrial society.

UNREST AND ORGANIZED LABOR

While socialism in its economic and political aspects has been dedicated to bringing about a change in the economic system, non-political organized labor has worked for other objectives. The philosophy underlying the labor union movement is clearly distinguished from the underlying principles of socialism.²⁵ Conservative labor does not challenge the existence of the capitalistic system of industry. It concedes that there are other factors in the production of wealth than labor. It has no objection to allowing a reasonable interest on capital. Organized labor does contend that the present capitalistic system of production enables the owner of capital to appropriate more than his just share of the proceeds of industry. As a result of this, labor is deprived of a part of what it produces or contributes to the process of production. The object of the

²⁵ On the Doctrines of Trade Unionism see S. and B. Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, and F. Tannenbaum, *The Labor Movement*, chaps. III, V and VI.

organization of labor, therefore, is to prevent this exploitation,—this unjust appropriation by capital of part of labor's share of the proceeds of industry. Organized labor further assumes that the industrial process is a form of conflict between capital and labor; that capital is ever seeking to exploit labor; that capital endeavors to hold labor to the economic law of supply and demand while its own operations have been freed from this law to a considerable degree. The only weapon of defense labor has against the steady pressure of capital is united action. This force can be brought to bear in the conflict in defense of labor only through organization.

The method normally employed in America to mobilize the forces of labor is organization by trades. Local trades are linked up with each other by states and nationally. They are linked with other trades through local and state federations and all or nearly all affiliated with the national federation. It has been the policy of these organizations to retain their purely industrial character, and as a rule they have refrained from participating in politics beyond endorsement of policies and candidates. Efforts to organize a labor party have been resisted, as have been efforts to identify the movement with socialism or other forms of industrial and political propaganda. The one big union idea has not found favor, except in a few industries employing large numbers of unskilled workers. It is likely, however, to become much more common and popular in the future.

The force of the trade unions is brought to bear for the accomplishment of two main objects. These are to increase wages, or to resist cuts in wages, and to improve working conditions. The more conspicuous methods employed to accomplish these ends are the strike, the boycott, shortening the working day, limiting output and limiting the number of workers in a given trade.

The union movement has been less successful in materially

increasing the workers' share of the industrial output than in some other respects; it has at least successfully resisted attempts on the part of capital to reduce that share. Its most conspicuous gains have been in the shortening of the hours of labor and the improvement of working conditions. The strength of the labor movement has made itself felt in industrial and social legislation which has immensely improved the conditions of labor in many industries.²⁶ History seems to show that the strike is a weapon of doubtful value, and there are those who criticize the ethics and good business of limitation of output.

Perhaps the underlying weakness of the organization labor movement—a weakness which injures labor as well as capital and society most of all—is the injection of the element of conflict into the industrial system. Where capital and labor should be employed co-operatively in the interest of society, they are at present engaged in a conflict which not infrequently reaches the proportions of industrial warfare, with society bearing the burden and the loss.

Organized labor has shown itself to be as reprehensible when enjoying a monopoly as capital has been. The defense that it is merely fighting capital with its own weapons is no excuse. The forced payment of a wage which is in excess of the service rendered is just as unethical as the forcing of a wage which is less than the value of the service given. In either case, society, through the consumer, pays the bill. Getting something for nothing is as demoralizing to a laborer as it is to a stockholder. It cannot be justified in either case.

PROFIT SHARING AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Foregoing chapters have dwelt upon the demoralizing consequences of industrial strife. The appreciation of these has led to numerous efforts to eliminate the element of conflict from the industrial process, and to build up a com-

²⁶ Florence Kelley, *Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation*.

munity of interest between capital and labor. These efforts may be grouped under two heads. In one group may be placed all those efforts which endeavor to give workers a share in the profits of industry in addition to ordinary wages.²⁷ In the other are included all efforts to enable workers to participate in some way in the conduct of industry.²⁸ Not infrequently, both of these efforts are combined. There are, however, two distinct principles involved in these two experiments which are of significance for this study.

Profit-sharing has been undertaken in many forms and for various motives. It has ranged from various devices to induce laborers to invest in the stock of the employing concern, to the outright distribution of cash earnings in the form of bonuses to workers. Conspicuous among the motives for profit-sharing may be mentioned the desire to create good will by giving the worker an interest in the business; the desire to prevent labor turn-over and secure the long continued service of valuable workmen; and the desire to avoid strikes and other forms of labor disturbance. One well known and oft employed effort in this direction appears in a deferred form of profit-sharing in the guise of old age pensions for workers. Whatever the form of profit sharing, it is, in effect, a recognition of the main contention of organized labor, that the laborer contributes a larger share of the industrial process than is paid back to him in wages. Capital takes advantage of this opportunity to improve its case by distributing labor's share partly in wages and partly in ways which purchase, for the employer, labor plus something else. Organized labor has, quite consistently, taken the position that such devices would not be necessary if capital paid labor its legitimate

²⁷ A. W. Burritt, *Profit Sharing, Its Principles and Practice*, also J. C. Bowie, *Sharing Profits with Employees*.

²⁸ G. Plumm, *Industrial Democracy*; and Budish and Soule, *The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry*.

share of the proceeds of industry in wages. Further, organized labor has contended that profit-sharing is but a form of subterfuge of employers to limit the freedom of labor to strike and otherwise advance their interests. With laborers highly involved with the employing firm they hesitate to complain or act lest they lose materially thereby.

The principle underlying the participation of labor in the conduct of industry is, in one respect, quite distinct from that of profit sharing. One of the chief causes of friction between capital and labor lies in the lack of the contacts which develop confidence and understanding. At present, each organizes to protect its own interests, and where interests are conflicting, they quite naturally become antagonistic. Contestants, under these circumstances, present distorted outlines to each other. In the eyes of labor, employers become mercenary, unscrupulous, even dishonest exploiters of labor, overlooking no opportunity to gain and hold advantage. In the eyes of employers, labor becomes deceitful, treacherous, disloyal to the interests of the employers and concerned solely in getting the largest possible wage for the least possible work. Under these circumstances, each magnifies its grievances and minimizes the other's just claims. The loss to industry and to society from this condition is incalculable.

Now, laborers and employers are fundamentally no different from other persons.²⁹ The reason why they seem to each other to be so different lies in the fact that they allow themselves to develop the viewpoint of group interest instead of developing a viewpoint of mutual interest. The solution, of course, lies in the cultivation of mutual interests and understanding and an amicable adjustment of conflicting interests. This cannot be accomplished without contacts and an opportunity for each to see and understand the viewpoint of the other. Efforts in this direction vary all the way from simple arrangements for discussion be-

²⁹ O. Tead, *Instincts in Industry*, pp. 73-75.

tween representatives of the workers and employers of points vitally affecting labor, to joint control in the conduct of the industry. Ideas embodied in experiments of this character are slowly taking definite shape under the name of Industrial Democracy.³⁰ When such experiments are entered into with sincerity on both sides, employers and laborers are not infrequently surprised each to find the other quite human and reasonable. The result is immensely to the advantage of both. The results of such experiments on a large scale are far more important than the mere adjustment of the differences between employer and employee. Perhaps no one thing other than the harmonizing of the relation between these most important elements in industry would be more conducive to the allaying of unrest and the stabilizing of the unsteady social organization. Advocates of the various radical proposals for economic and political reform would be robbed of their chief claim upon popular support and, in consequence, lose the allegiance of hosts of normal individuals who now have a just grievance.

BIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL UNREST

In turning from the field of political and economic unrest to the consideration of those manifestations of unrest which have a biological basis, we are entering upon ground which is not so familiar to the general public. Certain of its phases have received wide publicity in recent years, but its fundamental nature is not generally understood. The most conspicuous and the most definite articulation in this field of unrest is what is coming to be known as feminism, which is distinctly a result of the effect upon women of the shifts and changes discussed in the previous chapters. The feminist movement has been most advertized in the struggle for political suffrage, but it has, in addition to this, certain well known economic and industrial manifestations and some rather vague tendencies to organize about

³⁰ G. Plumm, *Industrial Democracy*.

biological factors. Back of all these manifestations of unrest among women lie a few definite causes, the understanding of which throws much light upon an otherwise bewildering situation.

Stated briefly, the unrest of women is due to their having been to a considerable extent dislodged from a definite and secure niche in the social system by the changing conditions of modern civilization. A brief survey of woman's traditional position in society will suffice to show how completely her old relationships and responsibilities have been disrupted.

There was a distinct division of labor between the sexes in primitive society which was determined by physical structure and social necessity.³¹ Biology decreed that woman should bear the young. Quite naturally she assumed the care and rearing of them up to a point where certain group interests became involved. Added to these labors, primitive woman performed most of the labor in connection with domestic life. The necessities of primitive groups reserved to men the tasks of defending the group from enemies and the more strenuous activities connected with the procuring of a food supply by hunting and fishing. When animals were domesticated, man shared with woman in the task of herding and guarding flocks. When nomadic life gave way to the cultivation of the soil, the tilling of the ground and the gathering and preparation of the grains and fruits for immediate and future use became principally the work of women in addition to her former accustomed tasks; while man continued his former hazardous and difficult undertakings, and found his rôle of protector more important than hitherto. Civilization progressed far before this third division of labor was much disturbed. The development of industry and trade made it necessary that man should take

³¹ Exceptions to this common division of labor are well known but the above is true of the greater number of primitive groups. See C. Wissler, *Man and Culture*, pp. 94, 95.

for his own many of the arts and crafts which woman had patiently developed. Woman's work was inevitably domestic, consisting of the intimate daily tasks connected with motherhood, food, clothing, and the manufacture of domestic utensils and tools. It was in the latter activity that the invasion of industry made its appearance. The progress of invention and the use of metals turned the heavier tasks of making tools, utensils and furniture, and the construction of permanent places of abode, from the female to the male sphere of labor.³²

Woman was secure in her traditional position. Activities of men took them far afield and subjected them to varying hazards. Within the more or less definitely circumscribed limits of her affairs, she performed her part of the labors of society. The modern situation leaves not one of those primitive conditions unchanged, save only the biological function of giving birth to children. The process by which this profound change came about is intensely interesting.

The Industrial Revolution, more than any other thing, is responsible for the present situation of woman.³³ One by one, her accustomed tasks have been taken out of the home. For a long time she clung to such as were most intimately connected with children, food, and the house. She has now been deprived of most of these. Gradually she and her children have been forced more and more away from the home, the children to school and social life, the woman either into industry or to whatever diversions may serve to fill the vacuum left by the removal of her accustomed tasks.

Two factors have been at work to force women into industry and the professions. The developing factory system really simply changed the place of work for women and children, but it made their work more conspicuous, and in

³² O. T. Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, especially chaps. II to VI. See also Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry*.

³³ S. and N. Nearing, *Woman and Social Progress*, Part II.

general, more hazardous. Women have always engaged in trade,³⁴ and gradually the women of the more fortunately situated classes worked their way into the professions. Public opinion yielded slowly to this innovation, but it has finally conceded the right of admission to business and the professions on a basis of equality with men. While useless idleness has made a few women conspicuous, the vast majority whose situation permits idleness prefer to occupy themselves with some form of useful occupation.³⁵ Deprived of the opportunity to labor at her traditional tasks, woman insists on the right to work in other ways.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF WOMEN

The entrance of women into industry, trade, and the professions has resulted in the development of a new attitude toward marriage. Under the old régime, every girl looked forward to marriage at an early age. Her early training was for matrimony. The unmarried woman was looked upon as a misfit who had somehow or other missed her destiny. Under the present arrangement, marriage is an alternative to be undertaken only because it promises a situation more attractive than one which the modern woman is able to provide for herself. When marriage is undertaken as an alternative, it brings a new element into the old relation between husband and wife. The old idea of male authority is abandoned, and man and woman enter the state of matrimony as equals. This tends to make the marriage unstable. The woman is no longer faced with the necessity of making the best of a bad bargain, and does not feel entirely dependent upon her husband. If the relationship is not congenial, she can return to a life of self support and remain respectable. This loss of economic dependence, combined with weakened influence of the religious sanction,

³⁴ See E. A. Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs*.

³⁵ See an interesting presentation of woman's broader service to society in M. R. Beard, *Woman's Work in Municipalities*.

makes marriage less stable than formerly. Romantic love alone is proving an insufficient basis for successful family life. It is impossible to go back to the old forms, which unduly sacrificed the individual. The problem then is to devise a satisfactory adjustment of the rights of the individual and of society, and for such an adjustment romantic love should be fortified by socialized ideals and a sense of duty, rather than by economic pressure.³⁶

In the case of the less fortunate woman whose situation does not permit her to choose between marriage and a congenial occupation, the attitude toward marriage is different. Forced by necessity while still quite young to enter industry or domestic service, she sees stretching out before her a colorless career of toil. With the conspicuous satisfactions of her more fortunate sisters constantly before her eyes, the working girl longs for a man and marriage in the hope of enjoying a good time and freedom from toil. Not being in a position to make careful choices in her associations, she not infrequently seizes an undesirable opportunity for matrimony for fear there may not be a better one, and not infrequently domestic infelicity results. Even should the marriage relation prove lasting under these circumstances, the mounting costs of a growing family forbid the devotion of her entire time to domestic duties and she again enters industry to supplement the income of the husband.

The condition described here has a very definite effect upon the industrial situation of women and girls. Since they expect to marry sooner or later, they are in industry somewhat in the nature of casuals. This prevents many of them from learning skilled trades and keeps the average income of women workers low. As a result, women who miss or refuse to accept the opportunity for marriage remain unskilled and poorly paid workers until advancing years eliminate them altogether. They then fall back upon the assist-

³⁶ F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 350, 352.

ance of relatives, eke out a wretched existence as menials, or become objects of charity.

This transient character of woman labor makes it difficult for women to organize for self protection.³⁷ In consequence, they are subject to exploitation at the hands of employers to a much greater degree than men. For this reason their entrance into the industrial field has not been gratifying to men, who feel that they constitute a low wage competition. The desirability of the participation of women's organizations in the union activities of men has sometimes been questioned. Robbed, therefore, of opportunities for self defense and the protection of other workers, many classes of female laborers have to be protected by social legislation, or suffer unspeakable hardships. The objections of some ardent believers in equal rights to the contrary notwithstanding, such discrimination seems socially justifiable.

The traditional labors of women were centred in the home. As the changes occurred which lightened this labor somewhat, many other opportunities for self expression were afforded. The development of higher education especially enabled an increasing number of women to make an intelligent demand for an opportunity to make their own contribution to social well-being. Since the conditions of modern society deprive them of accustomed outlets for their domestic and maternal instincts, they insist that they shall be permitted to follow their old tasks out of the home into public life and render there their wonted service. This involves the right to participate in the affairs of legislation and administration. Custom has denied them this privilege. The result was the winning fight for political equality, which, quite naturally, became the focus of attention and effort until it obscured many other issues and assumed significance quite out of proportion to its social value. The winning of political equality has not brought about many noticeable

³⁷ On this phase of the subject see Alice Henry, *Trade Union Women*.

changes in society, nor has it wholly satisfied women. Undoubtedly they will have an increasingly salutary influence in politics and in the administration of public affairs, but it is too much to assume that they will bring at once their full influence to bear on society's problems without growing in the new and unaccustomed tasks.

UNREST AND MOTHERHOOD

As woman grows more accustomed to the new occupations which are open to her, she frequently finds the duties and interests which they involve coming in conflict with her age old function of motherhood.³⁸ She is now torn between two interests. In keeping with her new training she feels that she can make her individual contribution to social well-being in various forms of public service. Partly as a consequence, some women refrain from marriage altogether, while others enter matrimony but refrain from child-bearing. Some women have the vitality and the strength of personality and intelligence to be good mothers and good citizens at the same time. This may be asking too much of many women, but it should be the ideal for the intelligent minority.

In consequence of the many varied and interesting occupations and diversions now open to women, there are indications of an incipient rebellion against the social restraints imposed by reason of her sex. Against the more irrational of these, woman is making headway. The conventions are slowly yielding to permit women to go anywhere and do anything that men do. This privilege is being won without a very definitely articulated program. Wherever the mores remain rigid, however, there are indications of organized unrest against the restraints imposed. An example of this is the movement for birth-control, which is not—in the

³⁸ For interesting and clever essays on the conflict between certain of the modern woman's aspirations and biological necessity, see E. S. Martin, *The Unrest of Women*; H. L. Mencken, *In Defense of Women*; and A. Ludovici, *The Vindication of Woman*.

minds of its most intelligent adherents, at least,—a general revolt against child-bearing; its object is best expressed in the slogan "The first right of a child is the right to be wanted." The unfortunate aspect of this movement is that it appeals to those classes which are best qualified for parenthood. Of inferior parenthood we already have too much. Fortunately, the instincts of women are on the side of social need. If ways can be found to make parenthood less inconvenient and the necessary economic conditions more certain, women will be willing to undergo the painful functions of maternity which biological necessity has imposed upon them.³⁹

INCIPIENT ARTICULATION OF RELIGIOUS UNREST

In the preceding chapter, some attention was given to the tendency of unrest in matters of religion and philosophy to articulate itself in the various *-isms*. Undoubtedly much noisy orthodoxy is the result of unrest induced by changing religious ideas. As in the case of the revolt of women against certain sex mores, the revolt against traditional religious control over the individual has been mainly inarticulate. There is, however, some indication of such articulation among certain groups of intellectuals. The conscious effort to make a religion out of science has not made much headway. Religion does not lend itself readily to rationalization beyond a certain point. That point cannot be too far removed from mystery in which religion has its root. A definitely articulated revolt against religion as such, therefore, is in the direction of scepticism and rationalism. Perhaps the most definite revolt of this character appears in the tendency of political and economic radicalism to include in its indictment of capitalistic industry and society an indictment of religion.

³⁹ Articles on "New Morals for Old," in *New York Nation* for 1924; M. Sanger, *The Pivot of Civilization*; W. J. Robinson, *Birth Control*; L. A. DeVilbiss, *Birth Control*; M. Stopes, *Contraception*; W. L. George, *A Bed of Roses*; E. A. Ross, *The Social Trend*.

The foregoing analysis of the various manifestations of articulate unrest may serve to clear up some of the confusion arising from the conflicting claims of agitators and the somewhat vague but noisy protestations of 100% Americanism of those who realize that our institutions are being menaced in some way but are not quite clear as to what the institutions are or what the nature of the menace may be. In the absence of clear understanding, noisy demonstrations pass for the substance of reality. There is already too much dust in the air in connection with the problems of unrest. Speech-making and flag-waving will not remove the underlying causes or dissatisfaction. The sooner our generation sets itself to an earnest effort to understand its difficulties the sooner it will be on the way to an intelligent treatment of them.

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XIII

THE MODERN MOVEMENT FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT

THE Scripture tells us that the Jews who were assembled to hear the Pentecostal sermon were convinced that they had crucified the Son of God. They, therefore, cried out with one accord, "Men and Brethren, what shall we do?" Growing appreciation of the gravity of the crisis confronting Western Civilization is causing many persons to ask the same question. As yet, no inspired apostle has arisen with a sufficiently convincing answer to secure the undivided co-operation of all the forces working in the interest of reform. While the writer has no intention of proposing a solution, it is clear that certain things must be accomplished if our civilization is to be saved from disaster.

DIAGNOSIS VERSUS PESSIMISM

No doubt some readers who have had the patience to follow the analysis to this point, have arrived at the conclusion that we have presented a pessimistic picture of the state of our civilization. The charge may be brought that there has been little mention of mighty forces which have been working to counteract those which are making for destruction. The attitude of the writer is not pessimistic. The purpose of this work did not include a discussion of the nature and extent of the attempts of society to deal with the situation. These provide the subject matter for another volume. The foregoing chapters constitute a candid effort to diagnose the conditions of our civilization, made in the firm belief that we cannot bring our full energy to bear effectively on the problem until its nature is understood.

Its nature is sufficiently clear to make emotional and theoretical experiments inexcusable. Society is in possession of enough knowledge to permit an intelligent program of constructive effort. Should no unforeseen factors make their appearance, there are many reasons to believe that success is not impossible.

One is not justified in wholesale condemnation of efforts at social redemption just because, in the past, most efforts in that direction have been futile. For a long time, the social problem was apprehended rather than comprehended. Since it as a whole has taken shape slowly, it was only natural that it should be visualized piecemeal. If this fact is borne in mind, it throws much light on the development of the reaction of society to its slowly unfolding problem. It should be remembered, furthermore, that the human mind was still preoccupied with certain traditional ideas when the first of our modern problems began attracting attention. It was most natural that the response to them should take traditional forms. Modern social reform has been literally forced to clear away the debris of centuries before it could approach its problems in a scientific manner.

CONFUSION OF TRADITIONAL AND MODERN ATTITUDES

The development of a scientific program for social redemption, therefore, has been somewhat in the nature of an evolution born of two definite factors. While the social problem has gradually become more and more definite, the attitude of society toward that problem has been making the transition slowly from an emotional to a scientific basis. In the nature of things, it could not have been otherwise. This should be kept in mind when one is considering the clumsy, blundering, and futile efforts which characterized the early stages of social reform. Long after the far-sighted and practical leaders had laid down the fundamental

principles of constructive and preventive effort, emotional and impractical theorists were trying all sorts of experiments which were doomed to failure from the beginning. While these were bringing the movements into disrepute, patient and intelligent efforts were paving a road to success. A brief consideration of the development of society's response to the challenge of its problems is warranted in this concluding chapter.

It will be remembered that this study began with a broad interpretation of the word philanthropy. This interpretation includes all intelligent efforts to deal with the social problem in its many phases. In addition to the effort to relieve poverty and human suffering, there have been other and just as significant attempts to solve social problems. All these must be looked upon as parts of a mighty effort of society to grapple with its difficulties. As a whole, this effort has taken three distinct forms although, in recent years, there has been a tendency to merge them. These forms we shall consider as political revolution, economic readjustment, and social service.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF EFFORTS FOR BETTERMENT

It was quite natural that the first efforts on the part of the northern European states to grapple with their problems should take the form of a revolt against the domination of the Church. While the movement had its inception in a theological revolt, its rapid development and the measure of its success can no longer be accounted for except as a great political upheaval which was to continue until some kind of constitutional government should be established throughout the whole Western world. The Protestant Reformation is now conceded to have been as much concerned with political matters as it was with theology.¹ The reason

¹ See article "Reformation," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*,

for the religious character of the beginnings of the movement lies in the fact that the people were accustomed to the workings of the ecclesiastical and political machinery of the Church. They had not yet developed the habit of attaching the blame for their woes upon political machinery. Quite naturally, the growing restiveness of the slowly developing northern nations rebelled first against familiar sorts of restraint and interference. That the movement should soon assume political form was inevitable.

It is a well-known social phenomenon that popular reaction to a given problem tends to assume the nature of a panacea. When once the political revolution had got under way, men were inclined to believe that a successful reorganization of political machinery would remove all of the difficulties of society. In consequence, they were so preoccupied with political reform that other phases of the social problem were overlooked until they assumed such proportions as to force themselves upon the attention of the public. In the political movement, men were obsessed with the idea that social problems would be solved if government were taken from the hands of special individuals or groups and placed in the hands of the people. This resulted in the development of a profound belief in the possibilities of securing social reform through political machinery. When, therefore, problems of a distinctly economic character began manifesting themselves, it was quite natural that men should depend upon legislation for solutions.

Great movements for reform are usually preceded by a period of theoretical speculation. Just as the advocates of popular government were opposed by the doctrine of the divine right of kings and the special qualifications and responsibilities of the aristocracy for control of the masses, the early effort to secure economic reforms was met by a mass of theory which took upon itself the name of political economy. Once the rising capitalistic system had securely entrenched itself behind the government, it was able to sur-

round itself with a smoke screen of economic theory which rendered it immune to successful attack from the reformers for a long period.² The powerful resistance which it was able to bring against proposed legislation for economic reform finally compelled many would-be reformers to seek other methods to accomplish their ends. The economic struggle, therefore, developed the various movements to overthrow the capitalistic system or bring about such changes in it as would eliminate its evils. The outcome of these movements, singularly enough, has been a considerable measure of legislative reform which the capitalists have been forced to concede in self defense.

Once the movement for economic reform had got under way, the same situation developed which we noted in connection with the political revolution. Those persons who became preoccupied with the idea of social reform through a reorganization of the economic system became obsessed with the belief that a solution of the economic problem would provide a panacea for the woes of society.

The preoccupation of the advocates of political and economic reform with their own programs led to their neglecting certain phases of the social problem which were becoming increasingly acute. They left the handling of actual poverty, degeneracy, and social mal-adjustment to local machinery of a religious or political character and to philanthropic individuals acting alone or in groups.³ From these indefinite and inefficient efforts to deal with concrete cases of distress, modern social work has slowly evolved. Here again, we find the preliminary stage of theoretical discussion. Social misery was accounted for as punishment for sin or as part of a divine scheme for the discipline of

² H. E. Barnes, "Social Reform Programs and Movements," *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1919, pp. 169, 170. Also Gide and Rist, *History of Economic Doctrines*.

³ See F. S. Chapin, *Historical Introduction to Social Economy*, Part V; and S. Queen, *Social Work in the Light of History*.

the human soul.⁴ Much charity was undertaken for the good of the giver as well as for the benefit of the receiver. However, the time was bound to come when men should discover that human wretchedness was due to natural instead of supernatural causes. This discovery was bound, in turn, to lead to intelligent efforts to remove those causes and relieve human suffering by constructive treatment in individual cases.

The history of modern social work may be said to begin with the first conspicuous attempts to relieve distress by constructive effort. For a considerable period, the term philanthropy was applied almost exclusively to efforts to relieve poverty and assist the unfortunate. In the course of such efforts, intelligent persons were, however, bound to make discoveries as to the nature and causes of human wretchedness. Gradually the aim of relief work became constructive and preventive as well as palliative.⁵ Finally a momentous discovery led to the development of a new phase of social service. It was found that many persons were overborne by circumstances and in need of some form of personal service rather than material relief. Out of this discovery, there developed a distinct phase of social work which has assumed vast proportions. It is characterized by direct contacts between the persons rendering service and those they desire to assist. It is undertaken in behalf of individuals and groups who are passing through some sort of crisis and is continued until the crisis is safely passed.

While these two types of social work were developing, still another discovery was made concerning the causes of human wretchedness. Much misery was found to be the result of faulty economic and social conditions. It became obvious that it was illogical to continue indefinitely the work of rehabilitating the unfortunate victims of pernicious conditions

⁴ E. T. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, pp. 5-10.

⁵ See J. Lee, *Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy*.

of life and labor wherever it was possible to correct those conditions and prevent further disaster. The perception of this fact led to the development of a third distinct phase of social work, which sought to correct bad living and working conditions through the medium of what has come to be called social legislation. This development served to focus attention upon prevention. Although these efforts have been beset with many difficulties, they have achieved many notable victories.⁶

MODERN UNIFIED PROGRAM FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT

In the development of the latter phase of modern social work, it is apparent that three movements which in the past have been distinct, are now tending to combine in a unified program for social betterment. Even though an attempt be made to minimize the results of the tremendous efforts which have been put forth in these various directions, one great outstanding result cannot be overlooked. In consequence of the attention which has been focussed upon the various social problems in connection with one or another of these movements, we are enabled, at last, to visualize the social problem as a whole. Now for the first time it is possible to comprehend the magnitude of the problem. Having comprehended it, may we not, "with one accord," apply our intelligence in quest of a solution?

The ability to visualize the social problem as a whole is of tremendous importance. It may mean the beginning of a new epoch in our civilization. We are now, for the first time, in position to mobilize our resources in a united attack upon the problem. However complicated its execution may be, the plan of attack is relatively simple. The wonderful

⁶ F. J. Goodnow, *Social Reform and the Constitution*; J. W. Jenks, *Governmental Action for Social Welfare*; and F. Kelley, *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation*; W. J. Brown, *The Underlying Principles of Social Legislation*; and F. A. Ogg, *The Economic Development of Modern Europe*, Books III-V.

ingenuity displayed by this generation in this and other directions augurs well for success.

STRATEGY OF THE ATTACK ON THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

Fortunately, not all phases of the problem are equally menacing. The strategy of the campaign, therefore, would seem to be to concentrate efforts on those phases of the problem which are most threatening. With a definite program under way to counteract the most dangerous forces making for disintegration, time will be available for working out means of handling phases of the problem in which disaster is not imminent. With a view to suggesting a possible method of procedure, we shall restate, briefly, the social problem as it has been set forth.

In Chapter I, it was pointed out that our civilization is threatening to collapse by reason of the destruction of its foundations. These foundations were defined as the biological stock or physical organism of the human being, morals which safeguard that stock and preserve the social organism, and religious ideas which sanction morality. It was pointed out, further, that these foundations are already in process of disintegration. The breakdown of traditional ideas and institutions has removed, to a great extent, the sanction of religious conviction, and personal and social morals are endangered. The process of degeneration of the physical basis of society is under way. This summary suggests the procedure necessary if the foundations of civilization are not to decay. *Physical degeneracy must be checked and the forces making for it must be counteracted; morals, private and public, must be revised and strengthened; and last, what is probably necessary to the other two, some means must be provided for the definite creation and socialization of religious devotion.* In several of these directions, considerable progress had been made already. We are interested in noting the measure of this progress, as well as the amount and nature of work yet to be done.

COUNTERACTING DECAY OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF
CIVILIZATION

The task of preventing degeneracy is a very definite one. The causes are now fairly well understood. First, degenerates reproduce more rapidly than the normal population. The more grossly defective degenerates appear to transmit at least some of their defects in accordance with the Mendelian law. Propagation of the grossly unfit must be prevented. Some progress has been made in this direction but much remains to be done. It now appears that the human organism is also undermined by disease. Perhaps more encouraging progress has been made toward counteracting disease than in any other direction. Medical science, rapidly becoming socialized, is conducting a winning fight against diseases which undermine personal vitality and produce degeneracy. Preventive medicine, health education, and mental and social hygiene are doing much to check the forces which make for decay. Authorities are not yet agreed regarding the relation of economic poverty and the wear and tear of industry to degeneracy. It cannot be denied, however, that these produce a background for other causative factors and greatly encourage the multiplication of degenerates. While constructive and preventive social work is accomplishing encouraging results in combating the evil influences of poverty, the solution of this problem involves the establishing of economic justice to the point of eliminating poverty due to economic causes.

As we have insisted at some length in previous chapters, morals, both public and private, must be stabilized through education. Perhaps, ere this, the reader has raised the question, why more consideration has not been given to the problems of vice and crime. This is not due to oversight. Crime and vice, like intemperance and the use of drugs, are due mainly to degeneracy and the faulty functioning of social institutions. The prevention of degeneracy and the

strengthening of morals would reduce abnormal conduct to a minimum far below its present magnitude.

If the social problem is to be solved, society is faced with the necessity of reëvaluating religion. Instead of being a thing misunderstood and left to haphazard forms of expression, it must be appreciated, organized, and utilized to produce the spiritual energy needed to safeguard morals, strengthen the rapidly loosening social bonds and perform many other necessary social tasks. This does not ask the impossible. It does, however, involve the elimination of superstition and the disillusionment of the human mind of the idea that there is a distinction between natural and supernatural law and that these are conflicting. Reverence for all law is necessary, if the human race is to survive.

WHAT THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM INVOLVES

In Chapter IV, we gave several definitions of the social problem. In conclusion, let us consider what each of these involves in the way of a solution.

The first definition given, expressed the social problem in economic terms. No civilization has solved the problem of distributing a surplus of material goods. To begin with, no civilization has ever made a serious effort to do so; in fact, past civilizations were never even aware of such a problem. Our civilization possesses the advantage of knowing the danger. The problem clearly lies in how to check the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, with its serious consequences to both rich and poor. Two alternatives lie before us. Those who are able to get and control wealth must learn to use it in social ways. Failing this, they must be compelled so to use it. It is no solution of the problem to destroy all those who possess the faculty of accumulating property. That way lies chaos. The problem is clear. *Surplus wealth must be socialized or it must not be allowed to accumulate.*

The second definition of the problem was in terms of

ideals. There is a conflict of ideas and ideals as to the purpose of life. The problem here is relatively simple. Individualistic and materialistic ideals make for social disintegration. Since ideals are the result of education, our civilization has but to choose social and spiritual goals and train the race to strive for them.⁷ In the past, ideals have developed unconsciously rather than by choice. This does not mean that a civilization may not arrive at an evaluation of ideals and make a deliberate choice of which it shall accept as standards of life. *If civilization is to survive it must choose social ideals.*

The problem was next defined in sociological terms. Human beings have not yet learned how to live together under the conditions of civilization. This does not mean that they cannot or may not do so if they set themselves to the task. Certainly there is an abundance of experience to show us how not to live together. Nor is knowledge wanting as to the conditions which must be satisfied if society is to remain stable. This knowledge must be put at the command of those who have it in their power to determine how we shall live.⁸ The future of humanity is in their hands. *The alternatives here are social living and progress or unsocial living and disaster.*

Next the question was raised concerning the limitations of human intelligence. Are the problems created by civilization insurmountable? Perhaps the best answer to this question is the statement of a fact. After all, it is not so much a question of the amount of intelligence possessed by mankind as it is a question of whether such intelligence as we possess shall be brought to bear upon our problem. If the latter is the case, our hope for a solution lies in a proper appreciation of intelligence and the use of it for

⁷ C. A. Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, chaps. VI, VII.

⁸ See A. E. Wiggam, *The New Decalog of Science*; J. H. Robinson, *The Humanizing of Knowledge*; and H. G. Wells, *The Salvaging of Civilization*.

social rather than for selfish purposes. *The socialization of intelligence offers the only hope of solution of the social problem.*

Furthermore, it may be true that civilizations have disintegrated in the past because they placed too great a strain upon the bodies and the minds of men. It would seem, here, that the solution is relatively simple, since the fact is discovered. It is now clearly demonstrated that human life may be supported and a maximum of satisfaction may be afforded upon much less exertion than is at present expended. The problem is one of conservation of energy and the elimination of waste. Much energy is now expended in producing things which do no good to any one. *The process of maintaining progress must be adjusted to the limitations of the human machine.*

The last definition of the social problem was in terms of race suicide. Civilization produces a social condition which brings the superior elements in the population into the management of affairs and renders them sterile. One of two results may follow. The continuous elimination of the superior elements may finally devitalize the physical stock and allow the civilization to sink into oblivion. On the other hand, the civilization may progress to the point where its fruits are beyond the reach of the masses of the inferior who may revolt against the control of the superior and destroy them. In such an event, culture might revert to a low level and remain stationary indefinitely. To avoid either of these results, civilization must devise a social system which affords a sufficient amount of satisfaction for all classes of individuals to bring a high degree of contentment to all. It is clear that there are certain definite limits beyond which we cannot expect to go. However, a measurably full realization of each individual's capacity for development ought not to be too high a goal to strive for. This involves two conditions which are not realized at present. If civilization is to survive, *the inferior must be*

afforded the satisfactions of which they are capable, and the superior must receive a reward from society which shall permit them to control and direct society and perpetuate their kind.

The reader has perceived, long since, that the foregoing are but different aspects of one great problem. The struggle lies between the selfish and the altruistic impulses within the breasts of men. In primitive society, nature took care that the selfish impulses should be curbed to the extent made necessary by the social needs. Civilization has removed those primitive restraints upon the individual, and has developed many conditions which foster selfishness. If man is to be altruistic now, it is largely a matter of choice. Civilization must contrive ways of making altruistic choices natural or attractive. It is possible to make them both. The task calls for a higher devotion than was ever required of saint or martyr. The goals are obscure and far away, and the guiding hand of God is hard to reach and hold. Nevertheless, men and women are not wanting to offer themselves in this larger service of humanity.

EDUCATION AND INSPIRATION AS A SOLUTION

Education and inspiration are the great needs of the present. The solution of the social problem does not involve any change in human nature. It does involve the bringing out and strengthening of certain qualities in that nature and the suppression of others to their normal and socially useful proportions. The recognition of the fact that there are different levels of human intelligence and character does not, necessarily, involve us in difficulty. On the other hand, it simplifies our problem. Education is not an effort on the part of society to lift itself by the boot straps. It must, however, retain the control of society in the head rather than in the feet. To accomplish this, it must render to all that measure of service each is capable of receiving.

Not all persons can be leaders, but some must be. The test of education, therefore, is two-fold. It must adequately orient the masses and select and train leaders. Their inspiration will be drawn from social devotion, whatever the form of religious machinery or experience which fosters it. To such leaders must be intrusted the great fields of human endeavor; Industry, Politics and Religion. Failure to place the control of any one of these fields in the hands of thoroughly socialized leaders ultimately involves one of two results. Leadership becomes or remains selfish, and renders effort socially negative or disastrous; or, society revolts against its leadership and destroys the fruits of progress.

Grave as is the situation confronting our civilization, it contains a measure of hopefulness never accorded a preceding civilization. Intelligence and devotion are not wanting, and we have far greater knowledge than ever before. These are the elements which make for success.

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